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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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29 December 1982

CHINA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN COUNCIL SUMMIT ENDS IN COPENHAGEN

OW060833 Beijing XINHUA in English 1940 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Copenhagen, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--"The European Council fully endorsed the need for a comprehensive strategy for achieving a marked improvement in the employment situation through the creation of durable new jobs," said the conclusions of a 2-day summit of the European Community, which ended here today.

The summit, attended by leaders of the 10 EC member states, focused on the economic and social situation of the community.

The conclusions said that the EC agrees on the following priority goals:

--Reestablishing economic stability;

--taking into account the degree of stability achieved;

--encouraging productive activity, and contributing to economic recovery and structural improvement, particularly through continued reduction of interest rates and through support for productive investments, especially in innovative sectors;

--strengthening the common market and intensifying action to eliminate practices and measures which restrict trade and distort competition;

--pursuing a vigorous energy policy with a view to saving energy and diversifying supply;

--strengthening the European monetary system, increasing international cooperation and concertation in the field of monetary and financial policy and trade policy.

The conclusions reaffirmed the council's political commitment to the enlargement of the community to include Spain and Portugal. The European Council asks the council (general affairs) to press ahead with the negotiations with both countries as rapidly as possible.

"The European Council stresses that the overriding priority for the community's economic and commercial relations with other industrialised countries will be a strengthening of international cooperation in all major areas to counteract the economic recession, with particular emphasis on a return to a stable monetary, financial and trade situation," the conclusions said.

Referring to the relations between the United States and the community, the conclusions said, "The European Community is determined to pursue a constructive dialogue in the appropriate (?form) with a view to ensuring solid and confident relations between the community and the United States."

With regard to the relations with Japan, the European Council expects the council (general affairs) at its session in December to take decisions on the various ways and means of improving commercial relations between Japan and the community.

The conclusions also said, "The European Council welcomes the work undertaken within the council on the recent important commission initiative in the field of the community's relations with developing countries."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING ENDS IN BRUSSELS

OW060647 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] Copenhagen, 3 Dec (XINHUA)--The 2-day summit of the European Council ended here this afternoon with a statement on the foreign policies.

The statement said: "Following the change of leadership in the Soviet Union, the governments of the 10 emphasized that their relations with that country will continue to be based on the same principles of firmness and dialogue. They call upon the Soviet Union to make the necessary contributions to improve confidence in international affairs. The 10 are ready to respond positively to such efforts and to work together with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe for a more constructive East-West relationship."

"Therefore, the European Council expressed the hope that all participating states in the Madrid meeting of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe would take the necessary decisions to permit the meeting to arrive at an early and positive conclusion," the statement stated.

On the problem of Poland, the statement said, "The 10 will continue to follow developments in Poland closely and in particular study the implications of the possible lifting of martial law, including the conditions under which this will take place."

The European Council in particular expressed the view in the statement that "the new Soviet leadership could make an important contribution to the improvement of international relations in general and of East-West relations in particular by reassessing its position on the question of Afghanistan." It said, "The people of Afghanistan should be permitted to regain their national sovereignty and independence and the status of a nonaligned state."

On the situation in the Middle East, the statement said, the European Council continued to view the situation in Lebanon with the greatest concern. It particularly noted that no significant progress had yet been achieved towards the withdrawal of the Israeli, and other foreign forces.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG'S KOHL MAKES FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT

OW261146 Beijing XINHUA in English 1118 GMT 26 Nov 82

[Text] Bonn, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in his first foreign policy statement to the Bundestag (Parliament) today, said West Germany will continue its efforts to strengthen the West Alliance and dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Reporting on his recent visits to the United States, Britain, France and Italy, Kohl said the foundation of West Germany's foreign policy and security is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and friendship and partnership with the United States. "Our U.S. friends can rest assured that we are still reliable allies," he said.

Kohl said defense, arms control, and dialogues, or even cooperation, with the East on condition that the security of the West be fully guaranteed--these are "our common political foundation, on which my government and I will strengthen our partnership with the United States by strengthening consultations in the years ahead."

Kohl welcomed U.S. President Ronald Reagan's proposals, presented to Soviet leaders, for avoiding an accidental nuclear war, saying that these proposals can help reduce the distrust between the East and the West.

Kohl said that during his stay in Washington, he suggested Reagan meet new Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov. He believed that such a meeting would produce favorable effect on the East-West relations and disarmament talks in Geneva. Of course, he added, it has to be carefully prepared and held at an appropriate time.

Referring to West German-Soviet relations, Kohl said his government has seriously noticed Andropov's recent speech. "We are ready to react positively to steps leading to constructive West-East ties," he said. "What counts here are actions and facts."

Kohl expressed satisfaction that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko will visit Bonn in the middle of January. West Germany is willing to hold direct dialogues with the Soviet Union because its relations with the latter is "of great significance," he said.

Kohl said his government supports NATO's double-decision on the deployment of new medium-range missiles and disarmament talks. Only when the West is determined to deploy the medium-range missiles when necessary can the Geneva disarmament talks have a chance to succeed, he added.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK'S PYM CONDEMNS NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS

OW010945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0743 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] London, 30 Nov (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym today denounced the establishment of new Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories as "a profound disservice to the cause of peace" in the Middle East.

Speaking at a Commonwealth Jewish leaders' meeting here, Pym said that Israel has not complied with U.S. President Reagan's call for a freeze on settlements on the West Bank and in Gaza. "Indeed, they are establishing new settlements," he added.

"The attempt to change the status quo in the territories which Israel occupies does more than anything else to undermine confidence that Israel truly seeks a peaceful accommodation with her Arab neighbours," he said.

Pym also expressed disappointment at Israel's rejection of President Reagan's plan for Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank in association with Jordan as a basis for talks.

However, Pym made no reference to the decision by the Arab League this week to call off a visit to Britain because Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the foreign secretary refused to receive a delegation including a Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) representative.

The Arab League's delegation, scheduled to visit Britain on 1 and 2 December, was set up at the Arab summit in Fes, Morocco, last September to explain a pan-Arab peace plan for the Middle East to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

In recent years, Britain, as prime mover of a European peace initiative for the Middle East, has agreed that the PLO has to be involved in negotiations if a peaceful solution was to be found in the region. But the government has also insisted that "the PLO must abandon terrorism and recognise the right of Israel to exist."

CSO: 4000/33

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG YINGCHAO ON BOOK EXHIBITION IN FRANCE

OW021047 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Paris, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--"An exhibition of books of the People's Republic of China," the largest China [as received] ever held abroad, opened here today.

On display are 5,600 titles of books and works of art including picture albums, paper-cuts as well as water-color block printings, which reflect the Chinese traditional culture and modern socialist culture.

President of the Senate Alain Poher, President of the Paris University Pierre Tabatoni and 400 persons of the French cultural circle attended the opening ceremony.

Chinese Ambassador to France Yao Guang and the director general of cultural, scientific and technical relations of the Foreign Ministry, Jacques Thibau, spoke at the opening ceremony. Both hoped that the exhibition will help deepen the understanding and friendship between the peoples of France and China.

Poher wrote for the exhibition that "the visitor will see the Chinese books, that is to say, the written thought of this great country."

Deng Yingchao, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of China's National People's Congress, wrote the following words to mark the occasion: "China-France cultural exchanges have a long history, and the book exhibition will promote further the friendship between the peoples of China and France."

The exhibition, held in accordance with the China-France cultural exchange program, will last till 19 December. It will also be held in Lyon from 14-29 January 1983.

CSO: 4000/33

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW ITALIAN GOVERNMENT SWORN INTO OFFICE

OW020639 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] Rome, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Italy's 43rd post-war government, led by Christian Democrat Amintore Fanfani, was sworn in today. (?The government) was formed by Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Liberals.

The four-party coalition put new men into key economic ministries while leaving 12 portfolios in unchanged hands.

In the new cabinet, Christian Democrat Giovanni Goria, 39, replaced Nino Andreatta as treasury minister, and Socialist Francesco Forte, 53, took the post of finance minister from his fellow party member Rino Formica, whose public wrangling triggered Giovanni Spadolini's fall last month.

Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo (Christian Democrat), Foreign Trade Minister Nicola Capria (Socialist) (?and Defense Minister Leliolagrii) (Socialist) retained their posts.

Fanfani's cabinet consists of [number indistinct] ministers with 13 portfolios going to [word indistinct] of Christian Democrats and the rest being shared by their allies.

Before the formation of the government, Fanfani had held talks with leaders of the parties and reached agreement in principle on a reduction of public spendings, control of information, and tax increases.

However, LA REPUBLICAN said according to the statement of the leaders of the four parties, their differences over economic policy remain unresolved.

Italian newspapers held that the Republicans, who refused to take part in the new government, possibly believe that the government would not survive its tenure before the 1984 general election.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

MALTA FRIENDSHIP GROUP--Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--Zhou Peiyuan, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, met and had a friendly conversation here this morning with a delegation from the Malta-China Friendship Society led by Anthony C. Coleiro, president of the society. Present were Xie Bangding, vice-president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, Sun Chengpei, deputy secretary-general of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, and Clifford Borg-Marks, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Maltese Embassy in Beijing. [Text] [OW070141 Beijing XINHUA in English 0709 GMT 15 Nov 82]

WRITERS' DELEGATION IN ITALY--Rome, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Chinese and Italian writers exchanged their experience during the 14th congress of the National Writers' Trade Union of Italy held in Naples recently. A Chinese writers' delegation led by Zhou Erfu attended the congress yesterday and was warmly welcomed by Deiacio, secretary general of the trade union. In his speech at the congress Zhou Erfu praised the increasing contact between writers of the two countries in the field of literature. In the evening, the Chinese writers briefed a symposium in Sorrento City on the development of modern Chinese literature. The Chinese delegation arrived in Naples on 18 November. [Text] [OW070141 Beijing XINHUA in English 1515 GMT 21 Nov 82]

ROMANIAN DELEGATION IN SHANDONG--Accompanied by Wang Lan, advisor of the Chinese Agricultural Bank, the seven-member delegation of the Romanian Agricultural and Food Industrial Bank arrived on 22 November in Shandong Province for a visit. Liu Zhongqian, deputy governor of the province, received and feted the delegation on the evening of 22 November. While staying in the province, the delegation visited production teams in rural areas of Ling County and toured some scenic spots. On the evening of 23 November, the delegation left the province for Nanjing. [SK270720 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Nov 82]

VENEZUELAN FOLK ART DISPLAY--Beijing, 27 Nov (XINHUA)--An exhibition of 59 folk art photos provided by the Venezuelan National Folk Art Institute opened at the China Art Gallery here this afternoon. It is the first Venezuelan art exhibition held in China since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1974. The exhibits show Venezuela's customs, landscapes and cultural activities. Among the 300 people attending the opening ceremony were Chen Xinren, adviser to the Ministry of Culture, Sun Shen, vice-chairman of the Chinese Musicians' Association, Regulo Burelli Rivas,

Venezuelan ambassador to China, and Manuel Antonio Ortiz, director of the Venezuelan National Folk Art Institute. After a 2-week show in Beijing, the exhibition will move to Jinan and Chengdu. [Text] [OW070125 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 27 Nov 82]

JOURNALISTS' DELEGATION IN ITALY--Rome, 28 Nov (XINHUA)--A delegation from the All-China Journalists' Association left here for home today after a 2-week visit to Italy. Italian President Sandro Pertini received and had a friendly talk with the delegation in Venice on 22 November when it was visiting this tourist center. The delegation, led by the association Secretary Xing Fangqun, was also received by other Italian leaders. The four-member delegation also visited factories, publishing houses and newspaper offices in Florence, Bologna, Verona, Milan and Turin. [Text] [OW070141 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 28 Nov 82]

EEC EXPECTS IMPROVEMENT ON WEST-EAST TIES--Brussels, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The foreign ministers of the European Economic Community countries at a meeting today expressed the hope that West-East relations would be improved. Speaking at a press conference after the meeting, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish foreign minister and executive president of the community's Council of Ministers, said the 10 foreign ministers hoped the new Soviet leaders would "respond favorably" to the Western proposal for nuclear disarmament and the follow-up Madrid conference to improve West-East relations. He said the foreign ministers also discussed problems in the Middle East. He said the EEC countries called on Israel to change its "stiff" attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. The EEC Council of Ministers yesterday decided to provide Lebanon with a loan of 50 million European currency units (about U.S.\$45.6 million) as special aid for rebuilding the country. [Text] [OW241150 Beijing XINHUA in English 1143 GMT 23 Nov 82]

MITTERRAND HOPES SOVIET POLICY CHANGES--Paris, 25 Nov (XINHUA)--French President Francois Mitterrand expressed his hope that the new Soviet leadership would change its positions on Afghanistan and Poland. In an interview with LE MONDE, before his visit to Egypt the French president made his first public statement in relation to the Soviet Union following Yuriy Andropov's takeover as the Soviet party general secretary, Mitterrand said he expected that Moscow would show policy movement first over Afghanistan rather than over Poland. However, he stressed, the Soviet leadership changes would not affect France's policies towards Moscow. He noted, "the Soviet nuclear force, tactical or not, in addition to its conventional military forces, creates an unbalanced situation in Europe." This situation should be "set right," he added. Meanwhile, the French president announced that he was opposed to "economic boycott against Russia" and "France will not break off its trade with Moscow." On the Middle East, Mitterrand said that without mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization nothing could be achieved. The French president also talked about disarmament, the Atlantic Alliance unity, Europe's role in the world and the world economy. [Text] [OW262018 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 26 Nov 82]

NORWAY'S KING RECEIVES PRC AMBASSADOR--Stockholm, 26 Nov (XINHUA)--King of Norway Olav the Fifth received the outgoing Chinese Ambassador Ding Guoyu at the Royal Palace in Oslo Wednesday, according to a report from the

Norwegian capital. In their talks which proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, the king expressed satisfaction with the progress in the relations between Norway and China in recent years. Earlier, president of the Norwegian Parliament Per Hying-Dahl, Prime Minister Kaare Willoch and Foreign Minister Sverre Strøm met with the Chinese ambassador on separate occasions. [Text] [OW270449 Beijing XINHUA in English 1547 GMT 26 Nov 82]

ITALIAN LEADERS DISCUSS FOREIGN POLICY--Rome, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--Chiriaco de Mita, secretary of Italy's ruling Christian Democratic Party, said today, "Europe should continue its alliance with the U.S. without ignoring any Soviet friendly gestures." Speaking at the party's panel discussion on foreign policy which began on 3 December, he also said: "Europe can play a special role in regulating the North-South relations." Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo also spoke at the panel. On European-U.S. relations, he said, in order to conduct a constructive dialogue with the U.S., Europe must assume its own responsibility and play the role which is due to it. Besides, it should "fully take part in the common choice on an equal footing" with the United States. Reaffirming European unity, he said: "This is not to seek confrontation with anybody, but to support with greater unity a more effective and constructive dialogue in the West." [Text] [OW060823 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 6 Dec 82]

CSO: 4000/33

PARTY AND STATE

LECTURES ON NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PRESENTED

Third Lecture: Party's Guiding Ideology

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 3

/Text/ As to the guiding ideology of the party, the new Party Constitution says in its General Programme: "The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action." This is a fundamental law of our party which must be conscientiously observed by party organizations at all levels and by every member of the party.

We know that the actions of any political party of whatever social class are guided and controlled by a certain ideology, viewpoint and theory. The difference merely depends on the interests of what particular class that these ideologies, viewpoints and theories represent, and on the ideological system that they are part of. Marxism-Leninism is the summation of the struggle experience of the working class; it is the powerful weapon in their cognition and transformation of the world and the communist theoretical foundation that guides the working class and all working people in their revolutionary struggle and in building socialism. The political party of the working class must therefore accept Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. Our Chinese communist party was indeed built up according to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and revolutionary style. In the several decades of revolutionary struggle, the Chinese communists, with their principal representative Comrade Mao Zedong, effected an integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and created Mao Zedong Thought. It was precisely under the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong that our party led the people of the whole country to its victory in the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. At present, our party, again under their guidance, is initiating a new phase of socialist modernizations. Practical experience proved that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are limitless in their powerful vitality; whether in the past, presently or in future, they are our guiding ideology and most important cherished heritage.

We shall uphold the guiding ideology of the party, as most fundamentally expressed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his opening speech at the 12th National People's Congress: We must "integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism

with the concrete reality of our country, go our own way and construct a socialism of a special Chinese character." These words, on the one hand, fully affirm the guiding function of ideology and draw a clear line of demarcation against those erroneous tendencies of trying to negate the scientific value and guiding role of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in our revolution and construction. On the other hand the words stress emphatically that theory must be integrated with practice and must be tested, enriched and continuously developed in practice, thus drawing a clear line of demarcation against bookishness. This is the fundamental conclusion reached by our party in the process of its protracted struggle. The reasons why our party, after basically completing the socialist transformation, committed "leftist" mistakes in its guidance of work, in particular such a serious mistake as the "cultural revolution," are certainly not any faults of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but essentially mistakes in the integration of theory with practice and deviations from the path of Marxism. The great historical achievement of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was precisely that it radically smashed the grave bonds of the protracted "leftist" errors, set right the guiding ideology of the party and reinstated Marxism as ideological line, political line and organizational line. Following the Third Plenum, the party moreover drew up and put into effect a set of general and specific policies in conformity with the objective realities, to prevent that while our attention is directed to one kind of errors, we may overlook another kind of erroneous trends. In the period of not even 4 years, we have therefore been able to smoothly accomplish the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in the field of guiding ideology, thanks to the common efforts of the entire party and the people of the whole country, as we were also able to achieve great victories in bringing order out of chaos in the actual work on all fronts, realizing the great historical transformation. This fact forcefully demonstrates that only by having the party firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and successfully integrate them with the concrete realities of our revolution and construction, can we become an irresistible force, like water running down a steep roof or like splitting a bamboo, that will achieve great victory after great victory.

The important task that we are now facing is to prove ourselves capable of further developing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions. This of course is an extremely arduous task, but also the historical task that we Chinese communists cannot shirk, because it is one of the greatest creative projects in human history to build up, in this new historical period, our country, originally so backward economically and culturally, with a population of 1 billion people and 9.6 million square km of territory, into a powerful, modern socialist state. The many topics involved in this undertaking were not, and could not possibly have been, raised and solved by the Marxists of former times, and it is also impossible to avoid completely during the execution of this undertaking that this or that deviation may occur within our own ranks. To accomplish this historical task, it is furthermore important that our entire party, especially the party committees at all levels, make a more thorough study, and carry on, the stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and uphold the correct line established by our party since the Third Plenum.

On the one hand we must oppose the "leftist" tendencies that try to return to the mistaken theories of the "great cultural revolution" and other such mistaken previous theories. On the other hand we must also oppose such rightist tendencies of bourgeois liberalization that will doubt and negate the four fundamental principles. We must moreover become closely involved in the realities in all fields during this new great practical experience, engage in systematic investigation and research, analyze the new situation, study the new problems and sum up the new experiences. Only if we persevere in these activities over a lengthy period of time, shall we definitely be able to build up our country into a powerful, modern socialist state with particular Chinese characteristics, create a new theory and advance Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Some comrades believe that the party's "guiding ideology" is a matter for the leadership organs and leading cadres, and that it will do for us ordinary party members to merely do a good job at our posts. This too is a onesided outlook. The guiding ideology of the party is the guide in all actions by the entire party and is to be conscientiously studied, comprehended and mastered by the party organization at all levels and by every single party member. To be sure, the leading organs and cadres in leadership positions, due to their shouldering leadership responsibility, have the task to determine and to gain a good grasp of party policy, and higher demands must be made on them in this respect. However, in the case of every single one of us party members, it is absolutely necessary to make the same demands, otherwise we will not be able to understand correctly and carry out party policies and propagate party policy among the masses. For instance, 2 years ago, when there was a shift in the focus of our party's work, some comrades called it a "rightist" move. They called the system of agricultural production responsibility, making production contracts per labor unit or per household, a "sharing out of land for individual farming." They interpreted the broadening of the self-determination of production teams as abolishing guidance by the state plan, and interpreted the reform of the party leadership as abolishing party leadership, etc. In the last analysis these conditions occurred because of our insufficient studies and low level of Marxism. It is therefore extremely important in the case of every single party member to use Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to raise communist consciousness, establish an ideology of wholehearted service to the people and to strengthen resistance against the influx of corrupting elements. Lenin once said: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." "Only a party with an advanced theory as its guide can effectively count on advanced fighters." (Cf. his "What is to be Done?") It is therefore necessary that each single party member without any exception conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and moreover accept them as the guide for all his actions, and again it is only in this way that a person can make of himself a politically conscious vanguard fighter for the working class.

Fourth Lecture: Democratic Socialist State

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 4

/Text/ The General Programme of the New Party Constitution says: "The general task of the Communist Party of China at the present stage is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This is also the guiding principle for our party at the present stage.

We must be aware of the fact that this general task of our party at the present stage represents the summation of the historical experiences, positive and negative, of over 20 years of socialist construction, and that these experiences were bought at a heavy price. As early as 1956, the Eighth National Party Congress correctly analyzed the special socio-historical characteristics of our country subsequent to the basic completion of the socialist transformation and determined the general task in our country's construction of socialism to be the systematic, step by step technological transformation in our national economy in order to be able to build up a strong modern industry, agriculture, communications and transport system and national defense, as also the need to exert ourselves in the promotion of science, culture and technology, to catch up with and overtake the advanced world level. However, shortly thereafter, owing to the mistaken guidance by "leftist" ideologies--especially due to the sabotage by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Zing during the "great cultural revolution"--it was not possible to shift the focus of party work for a long period of time, and the development of our national economy suffered many complications and serious difficulties. Only after the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was smashed, especially after the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, could the serious bonds of the long-term "leftist" errors be radically broken, could the guiding ideology of the party be set right and could the shift of focus in the work of the entire party be carried out in accordance with the objective realities. It is in this general task of the party at the present stage that the fundamental interests of the entire party and the people of the whole country rest at the present stage. If we achieve this general task, the total income of our people and the production of the main industrial and agricultural products will occupy front rank position in the world, the modernization process for the entire national economy would make great progress, the income of the urban and rural population would increase many times over, and the material and cultural life of the people would achieve a comfortable level of prosperity. If one wants to correctly understand the general task of the party at the present stage and to consciously strive for the realization of this general task, it is particularly necessary to gain clarity in the process of political studies of the following three relations: First, we must correctly deal with the relationship of economics with politics, that is, the relationship between the four modernizations and class struggle. After the exploiting classes as classes have been eliminated, the majority of contradictions in our society do not have class character anymore. The main domestic

contradiction in our country is no more class struggle, but the contradiction between the daily growing material and cultural needs of the people and our backward social productive forces. To solve this contradiction we have to develop our productive forces on a large scale. The four modernizations have therefore become the largest item of politics in the new era of our country and also our central and overriding task. Our party's work in all the various fields must be arranged around this central task, must serve this central task and must not depart from this central task. There must be not the slightest wavering on this point. Any trend or method of action that departs from this central task is in error. However, due to certain domestic factors and international influences, class struggle still exists within certain limits and will exist for a long time, and may even become more acute under certain conditions. We must therefore prepare ourselves spiritually for a lengthy struggle during the construction of our four modernizations. We must uphold the function of dictatorship in our state of people's democratic dictatorship and must uphold the application of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in dealing with the social contradictions and social phenomena that show a class struggle character. At present we must fight to the finish against the serious criminal activities that jeopardize socialism in the economic as well as in the political and cultural field. To saboteurs in these fields, regardless of who they are, severe punishment according to law must be meted out. It is extremely harmful to disregard this kind of class struggle under the new historical conditions, turn a blind eye to them or show indecisiveness. It is not permissible according to party discipline nor according to the laws of the land to wink at or shield saboteurs. Of course in our campaign against serious criminal activities we must also not depart from the central task of the four modernizations.

Second, we must firmly adhere to a policy of grasping with both hands, namely with one hand the drive for material civilization and with the other hand the drive for spiritual civilization. By material civilization we mean the material results of man's transformation of nature, which show in the progress of material production and improvement of the material livelihood of the people. By spiritual civilization we mean that as man transforms the objective world, his subjective world is to experience simultaneously a transformation; the results of the development of spiritual production and spiritual life in the society, which show in the development of education, science, culture and knowledge and the higher standard of ideology, politics and morality. In the course of the historical development of socialism, the material civilization and the spiritual civilization were just like two wheels on which the chariot of history rolled along. They condition one another and promote one another. We must therefore firmly pursue both civilizations at the same time. We may point out here that for a long time we did not have a clear understanding of this question and always assumed that to build up the material civilization was a firm task that absolutely had to be taken in hand, while the spiritual civilization was merely a weak task and as such not essential. Very obviously this was a very onesided view. Of course in the socialist society the material civilization is the foundation for the spiritual civilization. If we do not pursue progress in the material production of society and the improvement of the material livelihood of the people, building socialist spiritual civilization would

remain empty words. The construction of the material civilization must certainly be pursued firmly, effectively and without relaxation. However, under the socialist system, the development of the material civilization will not naturally and automatically bring forth socialist spiritual civilization. Conversely, without socialist spiritual civilization, socialism cannot be built up, and even where material civilization would have developed, it would go evil ways. This is an extremely important conclusion that we reached in summing up our historical experiences. Comrade Hu Yaobang /5170 5069 6721/ pointed out in his report to the 12th National People's Congress: "The construction of the material civilization is the indispensable foundation for the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. The socialist spiritual civilization is not only an extremely effective stimulus for the construction of the material civilization, but also a guarantee for the correct direction of the material civilization." He also emphatically pointed out: "The socialist spiritual civilization is an important feature of socialism." We must recognize from this high elevation in the political field the great significance of pursuing both, the construction of the material civilization and of the spiritual civilization, and that we must make a success of building up both aspects, step by step and in a planned way.

Third, we must keep at heart the great goal of communism, conscientiously do our best at working for socialism at the present stage. The ultimate goal of our party is the realization of the social system of communism. Every single member of the party must devote his whole life to the fight for this cause, otherwise he cannot become a communist or at least have the qualifications of a communist. However, we must not indulge in mere empty talk about communism. At present, to judge whether a communist has a high degree of communist consciousness, the most important criterion is whether he is consciously and effectively doing the work required at the present stage of socialism, and whether he is capable of fighting for the realization of the party's general task at the present stage. As early as during the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that if any Chinese communist, or sympathizer with communism "does not fight for this goal, scorns the bourgeois democratic revolution and shows the slightest slackening or tardiness in his efforts, shows a lack of loyalty or enthusiasm, is not prepared to sacrifice blood and life, but merely indulges in empty talk about socialism and communism, it means that he betrays socialism and communism, intentionally or unintentionally, to a larger or lesser degree, and that he is not a conscious and loyal communist." We must therefore integrate the lofty ideals with our down-to-earth work. Every communist who is fired with enthusiasm for communism must presently show his enthusiasm for the socialist modernization drive. He must unite with the people of the whole country, spare no efforts, concentrate all his attention and energy and with single-hearted devotion make every minute and every second count as he plunges into the great undertaking, the great construction. On every post where the struggle for the construction of our socialist modernization is being waged, he must bring into full play the exemplary vanguard role that is expected of a communist.

PARTY AND STATE

COUNTY LEADERS DISCUSS NEW CONSTITUTION

SK080827 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] Some county leaders who are attending the provincial rural work conference in Changchun today conscientiously discussed the new constitution. They talked freely about their personal experience in studying the constitution in line with the new situation in rural work.

In the speeches delivered by Comrade (Dong Gu), deputy secretary of the Fuyu County CPC Committee, (Jin Shoushan), deputy secretary of the Yongji County CPC Committee, and (Gong Pijian), deputy secretary of the Dunhua County CPC Committee, they said: The new constitution is the best constitution since the PRC's founding. They said: The new constitution is good because it takes the four basic principles as its general guiding ideology, reflects the actual situation of our country, represents the best interests of the people and concentratively embodies the common will and desire of the broad masses of people. This constitution, in particular, embraces all matters of interest to the peasants and helps solve all problems that have been the greatest cause of anxiety to the peasants. We wholeheartedly support this constitution and will take the lead in doing a good job in studying, publicizing and enforcing it.

(Peng Zhanshan), deputy secretary of the Changling County CPC Committee, (Wang Ziyou), deputy secretary of the Jian County CPC Committee, and (Gao Ziyou), deputy secretary of the Jian County CPC Committee, talked about their personal feelings of the constitution in line with the actual situation in rural work. They said: This new constitution is a guarantee for ensuring the country a long period of prosperity and the people a long period to live in peace and enjoy their work and for creating a new situation in the development of rural areas. After the implementation of the rural economic policies, the rural economic situation has become more lively. However, some organs and departments have been worried that the natural resources will be disrupted and some peasants have been worried that the individual economy will be affected. This new constitution clearly defines ways to protect the state's natural resources and to support the individual economy, giving consideration to the interests of the state, the collectives and the individuals. It provides a fundamental guarantee for promoting our country's various economic sectors.

In line with the ideological reality of the cadres and the masses in the rural areas, (Zhang Shitai), deputy secretary of the Yushu County CPC Committee, (Wang Jinshan), deputy secretary of the Lishu County CPC Committee, and (Yin Rugong), deputy secretary of the Huaide County CPC Committee, talked about their understanding of the new constitution. They said: At present, some rural cadres are afraid that the implementation of various forms of responsibility systems will cause disorder and some commune members are afraid that the responsibility systems will be changed. This new constitution fully affirmed the achievements from implementing various forms of responsibility systems since the third plenary session and fixes the systems in law so as to enable the cadres to feel happy and to free themselves from misgivings, thus ensuring the stability and continuity of the party's rural policies. They pledged to further emancipate their minds, relax policy restrictions and readjust and perfect all forms of responsibility systems in line with the new constitution and to continue to develop the new situation in agricultural production.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN'S XIANG NAN, OTHERS ON NEW CONSTITUTION

OW051734 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1815 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--(Special for FUJIAN RIBAO) Deputies from Fujian Province to the fifth session of the Fifth NPC discussed the draft of the revised constitution article by article over the past several days. They said unanimously that this draft of the revised constitution being submitted to the NPC is the best socialist constitution since the founding of the PRC after repeated discussion and revision in the past years or more during which the wisdom of the people of the whole country was pooled and many new items added. The deputies said that after the new constitution is approved, they would, as hamsters running their own affairs, study the new constitution earnestly and safeguard and implement it resolutely.

Deputy Chen Xizhong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, said: The draft of the revised constitution is very well written and is far more specific and perfect and more fully compatible with the national conditions than the 1954 constitution. It is more in keeping with the needs of socialist modernization now and in future. Deputy Ma Xiufa, vice principal of the Fuzhou Municipal No 1 middle school, said: The manuscript of the draft of the revised constitution covered the question of developing education in minute details which is a big step forward from the manuscript circulated for discussion by the whole people. The present draft provided a specific article for science, culture, education, public health and physical culture and added some features concerning education in the chapter: The fundamental rights and duties of citizens. This will play an important role in promoting the development of education in our country as well as in raising the cultural level of the whole people.

Deputies Cai Li and He Minxue, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, suggested that the first thing to do after the new constitution is approved is to call on the leading cadres at all levels, party members and CYL members to take the lead in safeguarding and implementing the constitution so as to create a fine social mood for the people to abide by the constitution. The participants all agreed with this suggestion. They said: For the country to maintain a lengthy peaceful reign and for the realization of the four modernizations, it is imperative to have sound socialist democracy and a legal system to curb lawlessness. Leading cadres at all levels in particular should safeguard the dignity of the constitution and take the lead in implementing the law.

Deputy Xiang Nan, first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, said: The constitution is sacred and inviolable and every citizen has the right to safeguard it. To safeguard the constitution, it is necessary to struggle against the act in violation of the constitution. For example, the draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulated that all organizations and individuals are prohibited from seizing or damaging natural resources. We must wage a resolute struggle in our Fujian Province against the illegal act of indiscriminate felling in the forests.

Many deputies also suggested that besides publicizing the constitution through different kinds of media, it is also necessary to compile simple and concise teaching materials for teaching a course in the legal system centered around the new constitution in primary schools so as to cultivate the law-abiding social ethics from among the young people.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU'S XU JIATUN DISCUSSES NEW CONSTITUTION

OW051731 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1432 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Text] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Xu Jiatun, first secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee, said at a group meeting discussing the draft of the revised constitution: "The new constitution reflects the correct stand of the party; only by recognizing the unanimity of abiding by the new constitution and safeguarding the party's correct stand can we raise the consciousness of implementing the new constitution."

Xu Jiatun elaborated specifically on the relations between the line, principles and policies and the new constitution. He said: Taking a look at the draft of the revised constitution, it can be said that each and every provision reflects the party's correct stand. Take the four fundamental principles as an example, the party Central Committee has, since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, repeatedly emphasized upholding the four fundamental principles in party leadership; the new party constitution approved by the 12th CPC National Congress again clearly specified that upholding the four fundamental principles at the present stage is the political basis for party unity and solidarity. Now the draft of the revised constitution listed the four fundamental principles as the general guiding ideology, making the party's correct stand as a common political basis for guiding the people of all nationalities throughout the country to advance in unity and a sure guarantee for smooth progress in the socialist modernization program.

Again, with regard to socialist modernization, the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has decided to shift the work focus toward socialist modernization; the 12th CPC National Congress also called for the creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization thereby spelling out the strategic targets, key points and procedures in China's economic construction. The draft of the revised constitution clearly stipulated that: "The basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their efforts on socialist modernization" and "to turn China step by step into a socialist country with modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and with a high level of democracy and culture." In this way, the party's general task under the present stage will be affirmed in the fundamental law of the state thus making it possible to mobilize the people of all nationalities throughout the country to strive in concerted efforts to fulfill this great task.

Xu Jiatun said: It is clear that the implementation of the constitution and the realization of the party's general task and program are identical with the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. Implementing the new constitution therefore amounts to carrying out the party's correct stand. This should be an important responsibility for our local party organizations.

Xu Jiatun said: In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang emphasized that "in particular, party members should be educated and urged to take the lead in observing the constitution and laws. The stipulation in the new party constitution that 'the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state' embodies a most important principle. It is impermissible for any party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grass-roots, to act in contravention of the constitution and laws." These remarks are rich in content and very strict in demands. We must enhance the concept of strengthening the legal system and, with the constitution as the guiding principle of fundamental activities, wage a resolute struggle against all acts in contravention of the constitution.

He expressed that after the new constitution is approved, efforts should be made to organize the broad masses of party members in Jiangsu Province to take the lead in studying, publicizing and implementing the new constitution and to become models in studying, publicizing and implementing the new constitution.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

YANBIAN PREFECTURAL ORGANS DISCUSS CONSTITUTION

SK081242 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Dec 82

[Text] This afternoon, party branches of organs of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee held discussions and talked about their understanding of the relevant stipulations on national regional autonomy stated in the new constitution. Participants held that the stipulations on national regional autonomy stated in the new constitution sum up the experiences and lessons in implementing the party's policy on nationalities over the past 30 years or so, further expand the rights of self-determination of autonomous areas and self-government organs, fully reflect the party and the people's governments' respect, trust and concern for the minority nationalities and provide a legal guarantee for comprehensively implementing the party's policy on nationalities and for doing a good job in building the two civilizations in the minority areas.

Comrade (Zhang Kuixing), vice chairman of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee, said: The exercise of democracy by cadres in the self-government organs is a basic guarantee for implementing regional autonomy. Since the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the democratization of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefectural office cadres has achieved a fundamental turn for the better. At present, the principal posts of prefectural people's congress Standing Committee, the prefectural people's government and the mass and CYL organizations are assumed by Korean cadres. This is in line with the stipulations of the new constitution.

Comrade (Cui Xilin), vice chairman of the Prefectural People's Congress Standing Committee, said: Our party and the state have always shown great concern for economic construction in minority areas. The new constitution clearly defines that the state will help minority nationalities expedite the development of economic construction in terms of finance, materials supply and technology. This is a great encouragement to us. Yanbian Prefecture is a forest area and has rich resources, which are favorable conditions for economic development. We must bring into play the advantages of Yanbian Prefecture in line with the stipulations of the new constitution and improve the prefecture's economic situation under the guidance and help of the state.

They all expressed the determination to respond to the call of the 12th National Party Congress, to take the lead in studying and publicizing the new constitution and to be models in implementing it and to struggle to build Yanbian into an advanced autonomous prefecture with a prosperous economy, developed culture, unity among nationalities and a strong border defense.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN CIRCULAR CALLS FOR STUDYING NEW CONSTITUTION

SK080915 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Excerpt] On 10 December, the provincial CPC Committee issued a circular urging party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership to conscientiously organize forces to study and to attach great importance to studying and publicizing the new constitution.

The circular pointed out: The constitution of PRC, which is a general law for running the country well and ensuring the state's stability in the new historical period, has been approved at the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

It is a matter of great importance in our political field to promulgate the historically important documents. This constitution fully evokes the common will and basic benefits of all nationalities of our people. The constitution has supreme authoritativeness and supreme legal effect to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country with a high degree of culture and democracy. It is a fundamental state policy and principle for all nationalities of the people of China, all state organs, armed forces, all party, government and social organizations, all enterprises and establishments.

Party committees at all levels should enhance attention and strengthen leadership to conscientiously organize forces to study and publicize the new constitution.

The circular also pointed out: This constitution is completely in unison with the guidelines of the documents of the 12th Party Congress.

The four stipulations of the constitution embody the general tasks set forth at the 12th Party Congress, and the program, lines and a series of policies and principles for implementing the general tasks. So we should closely combine the study and publicity of the constitution with those of the guidelines of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and make a unified plan and arrangement for studying and publicizing them.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG DEPUTIES DISCUSS REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW051759 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1734 GMT 1 Dec 82

[Excerpt] Beijing, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--The Shandong provincial delegation to the fifth session of the Fifth NPC held group meetings in the past few days to discuss the draft revised constitution. The deputies pointed out that the new constitution is the best fundamental law adopted since the founding of the country and that it marks the beginning of a new stage in China's socialist democracy and legal system.

Deputies Bai Rubing, first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, Zhao Lin, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Qin Hezhen, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee and vice governor, said: The draft revised constitution is a product of the integration of the party's leadership and mass line. It has closely integrated the Marxist theory on state with the realities in China today and inherited and carried forward the fundamental principles of the 1954 constitution. Guided by the four cardinal principles, the draft revised constitution has summed up the experience since the founding of the country, especially the new experience since the convening of the third plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Therefore, the new constitution is the best constitution since the founding of the country. It is believed that with this fundamental law, we will be able to create a new situation in socialist modernization.

Deputies Zhu Benzhen, vice chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Zhu Qimin and Zheng Zijiu, both vice governors, said: History and realities amply prove that without the CPC, there would not be a new China and that only socialism can save China. With the party's correct leadership and this socialist fundamental law in the new historical period, we will continue to score victories in our socialist construction.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG OFFICIALS SUPPORT NEW CONSTITUTION

SK100648 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Over the past few days, large numbers of cadres, workers and staff members on the province's industrial, communications, financial and trade fronts have studied the new constitution with immense political zeal and have hailed the birth of a general law for maintaining the state's stability and for running the country well. They unanimously hold: The new constitution provides a reliable legal guarantee for the people of all nationalities in our country to live and work in peace and contentment; for modernizing our country's industry, agriculture, national defense, sciences and technology and for building ours into a socialist country with highly developed civilization and democracy. Since the new constitution conforms to the national conditions and to the will of the people, we totally support it and pledge to implement it.

(Li Guosheng), chairman of the provincial Economic Commission, said: The new constitution correctly reflects the fact that the socialist economic system has been determined and is growing steadily in our country and affirms that the socialist public ownership of the means of production is the foundation of our country's socialist economic system. The new constitution clearly stipulates: The state implements the planned economy on the basis of socialist public ownership. The constitution also stipulates: Through the overall balance of economic plans and with the supplemental role of the market mechanism, the state should ensure the proportionate development of the national economy. That is, the state should bring the basic production and circulation of items into line with the unified plans, including directed plans and guiding plans. In terms of products not covered by the unified plan, enterprises that are allowed to produce such products should themselves make flexible arrangements for production in line with the market's changes and needs. Through study, we comrades engaged in economic work think this conforms to objective reality.

So far as our province's machinery departments are concerned, this year less than 60 percent of their products have been included in the state plan and 40 percent must be handled through regulation by the market. Because the enterprises are allowed to flexibly arrange for their production items in line with the changes in market supply and demand, they have readjusted service orientation and product mix and vigorously produced small and

medium-sized farm tools, thus scoring noticeable achievements in providing machinery for the light and textile industries. According to statistics, in the January-November period, total industrial output value of machinery departments increased 7.2 percent over the corresponding 1981 period. From January to October, these departments gained 47.8 percent more profits than in the corresponding 1981 period, and the profits handed over to the state increased by 45.9 percent. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and implement the new constitution so as to win a greater victory in industrial and communications production.

Comrade (Han Xiqi), director of the provincial industrial and commercial administrative bureau, said: Article 11 of the general principles of the new constitution provides clear stipulations on the nature, position and role of the economy run by individual laborers in urban and rural areas. It also points out that the state, through administration, guides, helps and supervises the people develop the individual-run economy. Through study, we have come to understand that the individual-run economy in urban and rural areas should exist for a fairly long period of time. This conforms to the objective law of our country's socialist economy. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, our province's individual-run economy has developed rapidly. At present, the province has some 300,000 households engaging in individual-run economy.

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PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI HOLDS FORUM ON PROPAGANDA OF LEGAL SYSTEM, CONSTITUTION

HK100932 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Text] The provincial forum on the propaganda of the legal system which concluded not long ago called on all judicial organs in the province to study well and propagate the new constitution. The forum was held from 1 to 4 December in Xiaogang Prefecture. At the forum, delegates from all prefectures and cities, on the basis of summing up and exchanging the experience of the propaganda work of the legal system this year, held warm discussions on how to seriously study and propagate the new constitution. They all held that the new constitution is the general program for stabilizing the country and administering the state in the new period and the implementation of the new constitution bears very important significance for the prolonged stability of the country, for the peaceful life and contented work of the people, for the realization of socialist modernization and for the building of our country into a socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy. The forum demanded all judicial organs take immediate actions to firmly grasp the work of treating the publicity of the new constitution as the main content of the propaganda work of the legal system. At present, we must use various propaganda means and forms to concentratedly propagate the important significance and role of the promulgation of the new constitution, the guiding idea of adhering to four basic principles of the new constitution and its main contents and characteristics, thus making all households and people understand it.

CSO: 4005/231

PARTY AND STATE

LIUZHUANG BRIGADE HAILS CONSTITUTION

HK070242 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Dec 82

[Text] The cadres and masses of Liuzhuang brigade in Xinxiang County studied and discussed the new constitution adopted by the fifth session of the Fifth NPC on the very day of its promulgation. They all held: The new constitution is the fundamental law of the land for managing state affairs and giving the state peace and security in the new period. It fully represents the common desires of the people.

(Li Anren) and (Zhang Xiuzhen), deputy secretaries of the brigade party branch, said: With the four basic principles as its general guiding ideology, the new constitution has concentrated the wisdom of the people of the whole country, absorbed the positive and negative experiences and lessons of the past 30 years and more, scientifically summed up the historical experiences of socialist development in China, and reflected the common will and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. It is a constitution that accords with the national condition and suits the needs of socialist modernization; it is the most perfect constitution since the founding of the state. The promulgation and institution of the new constitution provides a reliable basis in law for all work and a reliable guarantee for the democratic rights of the people of the whole country.

(Liu Shuxin), deputy leader of the brigade, and (Liu Minghai), manager of the farm machinery factory, said: The new constitution stipulates that the state should be governed by bringing democracy into play and strengthening the legal system. This provides a social environment of stability and unity for smoothly carrying out economic construction. In the form of law, the constitution ensures the shift of the focus of state work to socialist modernization. It can thus speed up the pace of construction. The constitution's new regulations on the state structure suit the needs of economic construction and are bound to stimulate economic development. The constitution's new stipulations on agriculture are very beneficial for mobilizing the initiative of the peasants. With the new constitution, our confidence in attaining the goal of endeavor set by the 12th Party Congress is still stronger.

(Shi Shilan), director of the brigade's women federation, and (Zhang Guilong), secretary of the CYL branch said: Homes have rules and the state

has laws. To respect and abide by the law, we must first understand it. The new constitution is the fundamental law of the land, with supreme authority; it is the general charter for managing state affairs and giving the state peace and security in the new situation. We must organize the women, young people and the masses to seriously study, actively publicize and take the lead in implementing the new constitution, and ensure that everyone knows about it. We must bring the power of the new constitution into full play, strengthen the building of the two socialist civilizations, and make new contributions to attaining the vast goal set by the 12th Party Congress.

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PARTY AND STATE

CASE SHOWS NEED TO WIPE OUT LEFTIST INFLUENCE

HK060144 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Text] According to reports by ZHONGGUO NONGMIN BAO [Chinese Peasants News], the investigation and study office of the Honghu County CPC Committee wrote a letter to ZHONGGUO NONGMIN BAO saying that the facts of an upstart peasant (Li Ziqin) who fabricated a false case showed the necessity to continue to wipe out the influence of leftist ideology in rural areas.

The letter says: In October a case was filed with Honghu County saying that (Li Ziqin), a peasant whose family was supposed to have an income of over 10,000 yuan, was robbed. Results of serious investigations made by public security departments revealed that it was a false case purposely fabricated by (Li Ziqin) himself to conceal the fact that he was well-off.

There are eight people in Li's family, of which four participate in farm work. In addition to working on contracted land and breeding ducks for the collective, they also managed other sideline production and the family became an upstart household of the commune. As a result, the net income of the family totaled over 3,400 yuan this year and the per capita income amounted to 420 yuan. (Li Ziqin) began to become well-off, but he did not feel secure about this. He wished to become well-off, but at the same time he was afraid of doing so. The influence of leftist ideology which had not been entirely wiped out in society made matters worse. Some people became envious and jealous. Some even blackmailed him. Others, cadres of production brigades and teams in particular, often went to the ducks' coop and stole duck eggs to eat. Sometimes they borrowed money from him. This increased (Li Ziqin's) misgivings. He suspected that the existing good policy would not last long and worried that after he became well-off he would be regarded as a capitalist roader and as such be criticized and struggled against. Consequently, (Li Ziqin) fabricated a false case of having been robbed of his money and filed the case with the public security department. The public security bureau handled the case, carried out a thorough investigation and discovered many flaws in the case. After the public security bureau enhanced his understanding of policy, (Li Ziqin) and his wife finally told the truth.

The letter concludes: (Li Ziqin) purposely fabricated a false case. Of course, this is wrong. However, we should see from this false case that since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, although we

have fulfilled the task of setting things right in guiding ideology, the influence of leftist ideology has not yet been thoroughly wiped out in many aspects. In view of this, we must support the upstart peasant households.

The ZHONGGUO NONGMIN BAO published the letter with an accompanying editor's note which reads: This vivid example of (Li Ziqin) has again reminded us that party and government organizations in rural areas of various localities must make great efforts to seriously publicize the 12th CPC National Congress documents among commune members and grassroots cadres so that everyone will have a clear understanding of the principles and policies formulated at the 12th CPC National Congress. We must do a good job in training rural cadres. In regard to cadres who blackmail upstart peasant households, we must punish them whenever they are discovered.

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PARTY AND STATE

FINES TO ATONE FOR CRIMES CALLED VIOLATION OF LAW

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Yu Songqian [0205 2646 6929], Shaoxing Branch Procuratorate: "To Redeem Punishment With Money Is an Illegal Violation of the Legal System"]

[Text] In some criminal cases since the beginning of this year it has come to light that criminals escaped legal responsibility by paying a sum of money to atone for the crime and thereby so-to-say "killed the case." For instance, in Shangyu County the accused Chen Weifeng [7115 5989 0023] on 3 February of this year raped the 6-year old little daughter of his neighbor. When the parents of the injured girl wanted to bring the case to the judicial organs, the father of the accused pleaded with them: "Since we are neighbors, allow me to pay your medical expenses and costs of recuperation, thus 'kill the case' and let it go at that." Disregarding the authority of the law, the parents of the injured girl agreed to sign an agreement to accept money in redemption of punishment and furthermore called in three men of not very high consciousness and no concept of law to countersign the agreement as so-called guarantors. According to the agreement, the criminal party is to pay the injured party 450 yuan, of which 250 yuan were to be paid immediately and the balance in installments. The illegal deal that would allow the criminal to evade his punishment was thus concluded. However, this illegal action was soon discovered. The judicial organs not only sentenced the accused to 5 years imprisonment, but also ordered the party that had agreed to accept the money in redemption of punishment to prepare a written self-criticism.

It must be emphatically pointed out that this shameful deal of taking money in redemption of punishment is an absolute violation of our country's law; it is an illegal act that amounts to trampling the legal system under foot and to an insult to the dignity of the law.

Allowing money to redeem punishment was a common occurrence in capitalist and feudal societies. In our country's feudal society the landlord class safeguarded the rule of its own class by exercising cruel oppression over the peasantry and stipulated explicitly in its legal provisions that punishments may be redeemed in money. The law of the Tang Dynasty contained

the provision that any member of the landlord class of a certain standing was allowed to redeem a penalty in money, specifically, that 1 year of imprisonment was to be paid for by 20 jin of copper, each further degree to cost an additional 10 jin, up to 3 years of imprisonment to be redeemed by 60 jin of copper. In this way the ruling class could oppress, deceive and humiliate the masses at will without ever having to suffer the penalties of the law. This thoroughly reflects the class character of the feudal law. In the capitalist society this scandalous arrangement of redeeming punishment with money has also occurred at times. It equally reflects the class character of law in its protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Our country's Criminal Law is a concentrated representation of the interests of the broad masses of our people. The judicial principle of the law is equality of all persons before the law. It does not recognize any special privileges of whosoever, and any violation of the criminal law will be punished according to law. When penalties are imposed on a criminal, it is done only on the basis of the Criminal Law and the facts of the crime. It is definitely not permissible that this is done by private arrangement and even less permissible to redeem a crime with money.

Allowing to redeem a crime with money not only does serious damage to the dignity of our law, but is also apt to give license to crime, to aggravate the mental anguish of the injured party, to directly disrupt public order and to endanger the personal freedom and lawful interests of the masses. Especially the rape of women (young girls) is an extremely heinous and brutal crime that violates the criminal law. Cases of rape are therefore cases of public prosecution, and there is no question of a complainant and the accused having discretion to arrange a settlement out of court and stopping the case. Money can only be either a fine imposed by the court or compensation for damages done by the criminal during the commission of the crime, but must never be redemption of a crime.

To protect the people, combat crime and safeguard the dignity of the law, we are determined to strengthen the general concept of law, uphold the principle of prosecuting every violation of the law and to show courage in launching a resolute struggle against criminal activities.

9808

CSO: 4005/155

PARTY AND STATE

EXAMPLES OF COMMUNIST SPIRIT PROMOTED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] A member of the communist party who has pledged to fight all his life for communism must apply himself to his work in the communist spirit. This is the principle of party consciousness that every member of the communist party must follow.

What do we call communist spirit? In his article "In Memory of Bethune," Comrade Mao Zedong said it is "the spirit of acting without the least selfishness exclusively for the benefits of others... An extreme sense of responsibility toward one's work, extreme warmheartedness toward one's comrades and the people." Today let us introduce to our readers Comrade He Shaoyi [0149 0783 5030], who was just this kind of a man. In every word and deed he displayed the high character and morals of communist ideology. As everybody knows, our party is called the vanguard of the proletariat because our party brought together the advanced elements among the working class and other working people, who pledged to fight all their lives for communism. To realize the great cause of communism, they fought heroically and worked unselfishly. People like Zhang Side [1728 1835 1795], Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695], Lei Feng [7191 6912] and Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], exemplary heroic persons, were outstanding representatives of persons who waged struggle and applied themselves to their work in true communist spirit. However, there are also some comrades in our party who believe the realization of communism is in the very remote future and according to the saying "Distant water cannot quench present thirst," rather prefer to attend to immediate material benefits. This is the "theory of the vagueness of communism," which in actual fact reflects the standpoint of individualism in dealing with the communist ideals. We say, communism as an ideology, conduct and spirit is not at all vague; it becomes evident on every single day. The struggle and work of all of our communist party members from the beginning of the communist party all along the extended communist campaign trail, are they not item by item radiating the spirit of communism? The undertakings and the work that we are engaged in today will not necessarily have any benefits for us, but they are undertaken for the benefit of future generations. Comrades who believe in the "theory of the vagueness of communism" should learn from the revolutionary martyrs who in their times laid down their lives or shed their warm blood. They

should firmly establish an attitude as in the saying "considerate thoroughness of the preceding generation will bring happiness to the following generation" and let the benefits for the party and for the people be the uppermost noble thought throughout all their lives, while exerting themselves in work for the communist cause. Concretely expressed, become firmly established in your job and work hard to make the country strong. Don't go on in a simple-minded unconcerned way as in the saying "being a monk for one day, I will toll the bell for one day." Engage in arduous struggle, quietly immerse yourself in hard work and don't seek a life of ease and comfort, shirking all responsibilities. We must perform communist labor conscientiously without concern for fixed norms and pay. We must not "look out for the monetary reward in whatever we do," haggle over every ounce in the remuneration we get, but must constantly try to improve our skills to be able to increase our contributions to the party and the people and must never complacently stop to advance. There are now many members in our party who are like He Shaoyi, who quietly and unobtrusively do noble work in implementation of the communist spirit. They are diligent and conscientious, scrupulous about every detail, working unselfishly. They are the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. They always volunteer to carry the heavy loads, meet all difficulties head-on and remain undaunted by repeated setbacks. At their ordinary posts, they make extraordinary contributions. This spirit of an extreme sense of responsibility for the cause of the party radiates the brilliance of the communist ideology.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "A person's capability may be greater or smaller, but as long as he has a measure of this spirit, he is a noble person, a pure person, a moral person, a man who has freed himself of vulgar interests, a man of benefit to the people." The present problem is that not sufficient attention is paid to this communist spirit. Under the new conditions, some comrades have developed an individualistic attitude and seek an easy life of comforts and enjoyments. "They demand more power, but when it comes to work they ask for less; they ask for higher pay and ask for better conditions of livelihood." In handling their work they are most careless and irresponsible. "Meeting up with contradictions, they skirt round them; meeting up with difficulties, they silently submit; when they see a heavy load that someone has to carry, they slip away." This kind of spiritual condition obviously runs counter to the spirit of communism. The party organizations at all levels should give conditions of this kind their careful attention, educate party members to always remember their pledges at the time of joining the party. At all times, in all circumstances, in every kind of work, we must radiate the youthful vigor of communism.

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CSO: 4005/155

PARTY AND STATE

HAINAN PARTY SECRETARY ON REGION'S MODERNIZATION

HK101144 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Text] Lei Yu, secretary of the Hainan Regional CPC Committee and director of the regional administrative commissioner's office, delivered a lecture, entitled "Unite to Strive to Create a New Situation in Hainan's Socialist Modernization," to the second cadre study class of Hainan regional organs and the third cadre training class of the Hainan party school on 7 December.

In his lecture, Lei Yu approached four points: 1) Correctly understand the necessity and possibility of quadrupling the total output value of industry and agriculture of the whole country by the end of this century, and have firm confidence and determination in creating a new situation; 2) proceed from the actual situation of Hainan, develop our strong points and overcome shortcomings by giving full scope to our superiority and work out plans and measures for creating a new situation; 3) emancipate our minds, broaden our outlook and set up a style and thinking for creating a new situation; and 4) in accordance with the standard of more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, build leadership bodies that can create a new situation.

Comrade Lei Yu analyzed the superiority and inferiority of economic development in Hainan and put forward plans and measures for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Hainan. He said: Hainan has a tropical climate with ample rain and sunshine. It is an ideal plantation for growing tropical crops. Great potentials can be tapped in the utilization of soil. We have abundant mineral resources. There are also favorable conditions in developing tourism. In addition to the above, we have after 30 years of construction, a certain material and technical base in industrial and agricultural production. However, Hainan also has its problems, such as complicated physical features, frequent typhoons and spring droughts, inconvenient transportation, a shortage of energy resources and a poor economic foundation. In a word, we have many favorable conditions, a lot of difficulties and great prospects. Therefore, in order to create a new situation in the socialist construction of Hainan, we must proceed from the reality of Hainan and give full play to the superiority of Hainan. It is our tentative plan to more than quadruple the total output value of industry and agriculture of Hainan by the end of this century; that is, to increase the 1.9 billion yuan in 1980 to 8 billion yuan. In order to attain

this target, we must strengthen the basis of agriculture, break through the weak links of energy resources, transportation, education and scientific research, firmly grasp trades such as mining, processing and tourism and create a new situation in the fields of industry, agriculture, foreign trade and tourism. In industry, we must gradually establish a structure with our own characteristics and mainly develop the industries of rubber, forest products and processing of various tropical products, and food, leather, mining and petrochemical industry. We must produce a number of products that can be competitive in domestic and international markets. In agriculture, we must concentrate our efforts on afforestation, hybrid rice, sugarcane, tropical crops, animal husbandry and aquatic products. In addition, we must use foreign investment to create a new situation in developing foreign trade and tourism. By 1990, we must strive to fulfill the annual output of 5 million tons of iron ore, 2 million tons of rubber sheet, 3 million tons of sugar, and redouble the unity yield and increase the total output of grain by 50 percent. On this basis, the life of the people can be markedly improved.

Comrade Lei Yu emphasized in his lecture: In order to realize the four modernizations, it is necessary to have a rank of cadres that is more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally competent. We must be bold in selecting understanding people who have both professional knowledge and organizational capability and transfer them to strengthen the leading bodies at various levels. We must train in rotation the leading cadres at various levels in a planned way and prevent those five kinds of people from sneaking into the leadership bodies at various levels. Those who have sneaked into the leadership bodies must be resolutely cleared out. We must respect veteran cadres and bring into full play their role of passing on experience, giving help and setting an example, and strengthen the unity between veteran and new cadres, and local and outside cadres.

CSO: 4005/231

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI VICE MAYOR PRAISES ZHAO ZIYANG REPORT

OW092341 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0816 GMT 5 Dec 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 5 Dec (XINHUA)--Han Zheyi, an NPC deputy and vice mayor of Shanghai Municipality, said at a group discussion meeting: Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the sixth 5-year plan is very important. It completely conforms to Shanghai's realities. During the sixth 5-year plan period, Shanghai will follow the four major measures for fulfilling the sixth 5-year plan put forward in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report, focus its efforts on enhancing economic results and make scientific and technological progress to develop the economy.

Han Zheyi said: Shanghai, with a comparatively solid industrial foundation, is one of China's important industrial bases. It has more than 8,000 enterprises. In order to further enhance economic results, upgrade industrial products and make the products marketable, we must renew the equipment of a number of selected major enterprises in a planned way, undertake technical transformation and bring into full play the role of existing enterprises. During the sixth 5-year plan period, Shanghai should undertake technical transformation in conjunction with industrial readjustment and reorganization for the purpose of lowering the consumption of energy, raw materials and processed materials, increasing the variety of products, improving their quality and actively applying advanced foreign technology. Because the machine-building industry is the supplier of industrial equipment, Shanghai should first transform its machine-building industry.

Han Zheyi discussed the necessity of organizing the scientific and technological force to tackle key problems and, at the same time, invest in the development of intellectual resources and train various specialized personnel.

He said: Shanghai has some 50 colleges and more than 580 scientific research organizations of various branches. Shanghai strives to integrate scientific research with production and organize scientific research organizations to serve production. About 80 percent of the scientific research projects arranged by Shanghai this year are projects having a direct bearing on production.

He said: Since the beginning of this year, Shanghai has overhauled 343 enterprises, improved their management and enhanced their economic results.

During the sixth 5-year plan period, we should fulfill the tasks set in Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report, place the reorganization of leading bodies above everything else, continue to improve and perfect the system of economic responsibility, organize the scientific management of enterprises and strengthen the cultural and technical education of the workers.

He said: While undertaking technical transformation of Shanghai's industries on a selective basis, we must step up the effort of the communications and transport departments. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Shanghai's harbor construction has not met the demands of production development. We do not have enough berths and our equipment is backward. In particular, the urban transportation is far from being able to meet the demand of production development. Therefore, during the sixth and seventh 5-year plan periods, we should expand the harbor's cargo handling capacity, increase wharves and berths, renew loading and unloading equipment, widen roads and bridges, build a deepwater harbor and organize rational land-water coordinated transport.

Han Zheyi said: Social and economic development are inseparable. In the past, Shanghai ignored this fact. During the sixth 5-year plan period, we should gradually transform urban areas. In the near future, we should take housing construction as a priority project for urban construction. While making efforts to improve railroad stations, bus terminals, wharves and major streets, we should strive to improve the appearance of Shanghai City, alleviate the housing shortage to a certain extent, control the "three wastes" and improve the city's sewerage, gas supply, transportation, landscaping and environmental sanitation to solve various conspicuous problems concerning the city's public utilities.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU HOLDS SECURITY, JUDICIAL WORK MEETING

OW080143 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The Jiangsu provincial public security and judicial work meeting called on cadres and policemen on the security and judicial fronts throughout the province to study and implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress and the national public security and judicial work meeting and to strive to create a new situation in security and judicial work and safeguard and promote socialist modernization. The meeting was held in Nanjing from 23 November to 2 December. A total of more than 700 representatives were present.

After analyzing the present situation of social security, the meeting pointed out: Thanks to the all-round efforts of the past year and more, social order throughout the province has improved remarkably. This has created a favorable condition for the four modernizations and laid a good foundation for the fundamental improvement of social order. However, it is impossible to eliminate the factors of social instability all at once.

The meeting proposed the goal to be reached for public security and judicial work within the coming 5 years. That is to create a new situation in both cities and rural areas in Jiangsu in which criminal and security cases and accidents are drastically reduced, social order is good and cadres and the masses all have a sense of security and to safeguard and promote the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

Regarding the work to be done this winter and next year, the meeting called for firmly grasping the following:

1. Severely punish, according to law, hostile elements who oppose socialism and various serious offenders.
2. Further strengthen the management of social security to prevent and reduce crimes.
3. Strengthen the building of grassroots-level organizations and all foundation work.
4. Conscientiously strengthen supervision, management and reform work over criminals and personnel reeducated through labor.

5. Strengthen the struggle against accidents which affect social [balance].

6. Strengthen the work of attorneys and notarial work.

The provincial public security and judicial work meeting closed on 2 December. Liu Lin, second secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke. He stressed the all-round efforts to improve social practice and order. He also called for party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership and all departments to make concerted efforts to improve social order at the grassroots level by fully mobilizing the masses.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING RADIO CALLS FOR RESPECTING INTELLECTUALS

SK121132 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Dec 82

[Station commentary entitled "Eliminate the Prejudice Against Intellectuals"]

[Text] The new constitution clearly defines: The undertaking of socialist construction should rely on the strength of intellectuals as well as workers and peasants.

In the revolutionary period, we needed intellectuals. But for them, Marxism-Leninism would not have been popularized throughout China. But for the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, China would not have won the victory over revolutionary construction. In building the socialist modernization, we need intellectuals all the more. Without them, plans to realize the four modernizations and to build a high level of socialist material and spiritual civilizations is empty talk.

How deeply are we moved by the heroic deeds of Jiang Zhuying and (Luo Jianfu). They were loyal to the party and enthusiastic about their work. They selflessly devoted their lives to the great cause of pursuing prosperity for the motherland and happiness for the people. They are excellent representatives of the intellectuals of our country. Their brilliant deeds created a gigantic image of intellectuals in the new China. We should take them as examples.

Veteran proletarian revolutionaries and state leaders pay great attention to the roles that intellectuals are playing in Chinese revolutionary construction and pay special attention to mobilizing their enthusiasm.

Since the third plenum of the 11th Party Congress, some leaders of the party Central Committee have repeatedly stressed implementing the party's policy on intellectuals. Much concern has been shown to their political lives and living conditions. We should make full use of their talents and bring their function into full play. Among them we should select and promote some excellent ones to leading posts at all levels in order to upgrade the quality of ranks of cadres with a view to ensuring that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more professionally competent and to creating more favorable conditions for their work.

Leading comrades of all departments and units should help intellectuals act as good rear-service personnel in building socialist modernization. The guidelines of these directives fully demonstrate that the party has shown intimate concern for intellectuals. The broad masses of intellectuals are warmly inspired to work even harder and more diligently. At the same time, leading comrades at all fronts pay great attention to intellectuals. Much progress has been made in their working and living conditions. However, a few noticeable problems should be attended to. At present, a tendency for despising intellectuals still exists. So the implementation of the party's policy of intellectuals is being obstructed. The main reasons for these problems are that some comrades, particularly some leading comrades, lag behind in their understanding of the fact that intellectuals play important functions under the new historical period. Because the influence of leftist ideology has not been eliminated yet, some comrades have various kinds of prejudice against intellectuals. Some judge intellectuals by old standards and treat them with out-dated policies and principles.

Some even make up excuses to criticize intellectuals. For example, they say that intellectuals are of bad class origin and that intellectuals consider themselves above others and become cocky. So they are very angry with intellectuals and do not treat them as people on their own side.

A leading comrade at a certain unit called for unity in educating and remolding intellectuals. Concerning the fact that middle-aged intellectuals apply for party membership, some units give serious consideration to unimportant shortcomings of intellectuals and refuse to let middle-aged intellectuals qualified for party membership join the party. Some leading comrades consider themselves uncouth fellows and are proud of being uneducated persons. They even are hostile to intellectuals. All these actions embody our failures in eliminating the influence of leftist ideology.

At present, only by eliminating the prejudice against intellectuals can we really solve these problems. Efforts should be made to rid ourselves of various kinds of prejudice against intellectuals. Attention should be paid to eliminating the influence of leftist ideology and to firmly fostering the ideology of relying on the strength of intellectuals.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN HOLDS REEDUCATION-THROUGH-LABOR MEETING

OW080521 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 4 Dec 82

[Text] A provincial conference on reeducation through labor and on the supervision of those being so reeducated, which ended on 4 December, stressed: It is necessary to conscientiously study and implement the guidelines laid down by the 12th Party Congress, to further carry out the party's principles for reeducation through labor, do a good job in building the ranks of cadres conducting such reeducation, strengthen the civilized supervision of those being reeducated through labor, improve the quality of this work and bring about a new situation in this regard.

The conference pointed out: Doing a good job in reeducation through labor is of great significance in redeeming juvenile delinquents, guarding against theft, reducing the crime rate, bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in the standards of social conduct, maintaining public order and ensuring the smooth development of the four modernizations.

The conference held: In recent years, party committees and governments at various levels in the province have generally strengthened their leadership over reeducation through labor. The departments concerned have closely coordinated with one another in conducting such reeducation, and people in various circles have paid attention to this work. The problem of juvenile delinquents has been tackled in a comprehensive way. As a result, reeducation through labor has been effectively carried out.

Since last year, leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC Committee have successively led deputies to the provincial people's congress, members of the provincial CPPCC Committee, members of democratic parties and responsible comrades of departments concerned in inspecting institutions for the reeducation of juvenile delinquents through labor. They have extended their regards to cadres and police in charge of such reeducation, have given guidance to the latter on their work and have called on young people who took a wrong step in life. By so doing, they have achieved very good results.

Large numbers of cadres and police in charge of reeducation through labor have further enhanced their sense of responsibility, raised their consciousness in implementing the party's principles for such reeducation and

strengthened their civilized supervision of those being reeducated through labor. Modest cadres and police care about, and show every consideration for, young people who have taken a wrong step in life, as parents do their sons and daughters. They do their work as a doctor carefully diagnoses the illness and suits the medicine to that illness in order to save the patient. They do their work as a teacher is tireless in teaching his students in accordance with their aptitude. Thus, they have reeducated and redeemed a number of young people who took a wrong step in life.

Comrades attending the conference conscientiously summed up their work and discussed their tasks for this winter and the coming spring. Under the guidelines laid down by the 12th Party Congress, they are determined to make fresh contributions to bring about a fundamental change for the better in public order and ensure the smooth development of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/230

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI CYL PLANS NEW CIVILIZATION CAMPAIGN

HK101111 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Dec 82

[Text] The provincial CYL Committee this afternoon holds a mobilization meeting in Wuchong to make arrangements for widely carrying out the propaganda and educational activities of four promotions and four oppositions during the period of the coming new year's day and the spring festival among the young people. The four promotions and four oppositions are the promotion of thrift and opposition to lavish marriage, the promotion of equal rights between men and women and opposition to the discrimination and maltreatment of women, the promotion of belief in science and opposition to feudal superstition, and the promotion of healthy cultural activities and opposition to gambling. The propaganda and educational activities will be carried out in three stages. Investigations, research, propaganda and mobilization should be carried out before the new year's day. An upsurge should be set off during the period from the new year's day to the spring festival. After the spring festival, experience should be summed up so as to recommend advanced elements and adhere to constant practices. At the mobilization meeting, (Qian Yinlu), secretary of the provincial CYL Committee, demanded that CYL organizations at all levels, inspired by the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, treat the activity as an important measure to study, observe and safeguard the new constitution, as a breakthrough in the creation of a new situation in the work of the CYL of the province and widely and deeply carry it out. The vast number of CYL members and the broad masses of young people must be pioneers in the activity. At today's meeting, the CYL committees of Qichun County, Yingshan County, Wuhan City and Wuhan Iron and Steel Company introduced their experiences. Chen Shun, a youth of Leshiling brigade of Guanmiao commune in Yingshan County explained how he carried out his marriage activities in a new way.

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

JILIN DELEGATION TO JAPAN--On the occasion of the second anniversary of the establishment of friendly ties between Changchun Municipality, Jilin Province, and Sendai City, Japan, the Changchun municipal six-member friendship delegation led by (Zhao Kai), deputy mayor of Changchun, left Changchun for Sendai via Beijing on the afternoon of 26 November at the invitation of the Sendai City government. The delegation was seen off at the station by (Chi Jingwu), deputy mayor of Changchun, and (Zhu Wenyu), deputy director of the Jilin Provincial Foreign Affairs Office. [SK271239 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Nov 82]

U.S. GUESTS VISIT HUBEI--At 1700 today, Acting Governor Huang Zhizhen and Vice Governor Tian Ying met at Donghu Guest House all five members of the New Jersey economic and commercial delegation headed by Professor (Yang Liyu), a special adviser to the governor of New Jersey and (Man-Er-Fei), chairman of the board of directors of the U.S. Ai-Si-Kang Corporation. The delegation came for a friendly visit and to investigate and discuss matters related to economic cooperation and trade at the invitation of the provincial Import and Export Management Committee. It arrived at our province on 11 December. Acting Governor Huang Zhizhen extended his welcome to them coming to visit our province and investigating and discussing matters related to trade. [Text] [HK130850 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Dec 82]

CSO: 4005/230

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

QIANG XIAOCHU'S ARTICLE DISCUSSES MILITIA WORK

SK101209 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Article written jointly by Qiang Xiaochu, first secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee and first political commissar of the provincial military district, and He Youfa, commander of the provincial military district, entitled "The Important Way To Build a Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: One of our strategic principles in building socialism is to make efforts to achieve a high-level socialist, spiritual civilization. Recently, the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee and the PLA General Political Department successively issued circulars to urge the entire party, all the armed forces and the people throughout the country to do a good job in studying and publicizing the program of achieving a socialist spiritual civilization and in launching the extensive and thorough campaigns of "five-stresses" and "four-beauties" as well as "four-have's," "three-attention's" and "two-fear not's." In seeking a way to respond to the call issued by the CPC Central Committee for creating a new situation in the program of achieving a socialist spiritual civilization, the Jilin paper mill has provided outstanding experiences for educating youths by conducting military training. This is an important way to build a socialist spiritual civilization.

The experience gained by the Jilin paper mill in this regard can be summarized by pointing out that the mill has closely integrated the build-up of militia forces with the build-up of the staff and worker contingent and brought into full play the militia organizational role in building a spiritual civilization and that the mill has educated and brought up the new generation of successors by conducting strict military and political training in an effort to upgrade ideological consciousness among youths and militiamen. The mill's experience is in conformity with the 12th CPC Congress guidelines. It not only has guiding significance among major industrial and mining enterprises, but also is suitable to both urban and rural areas.

In studying and popularizing the mill's experience, it is not only necessary to follow its concrete measures adopted in educating youths by conducting military training, but also necessary to learn from its revolutionary spirit. Efforts should be made to learn from its far-reaching outlook in education

and its devoted ambition and high sense of responsibility in building socialism and conducting militia work.

At present, the staff and worker contingent among industrial and mining enterprises is in the state that the new steadily replaces the old. The recruitment of many new hands has thoroughly enforced production in enterprises but has also brought them new problems. Most of the new hands have high ambition and ideals, are not conservative and dare to create new things, bringing fresh blood to the worker contingent. A few of them, however, still have various problems because of the influence of the 10-year turmoil and of both domestic and foreign bourgeois ideas, such as lacking mental or spiritual ballast, lacking lofty ideals or being lax in discipline.

The vital task we face is how to adopt a correct attitude toward the youths of this generation and how to do a good job in conducting education among them. In fulfilling this task, the Jilin paper mill CPC Committee has not only paid attention to current importance, but also to far-reaching goals; not only to the future of developing the mill, but also to the safety of or danger to the country. The mill has contended that a failure to educate youths well will lead to the bankruptcy of plants in their hands and will bring about inability among them in a war. The mill has contended that such an adverse situation is possibly caused by countless mistakes committed by the unit authorities. This is a far-reaching strategic outlook. Only by having lofty ideals in work can the mill achieve through trial such outstanding experiences in educating youths by conducting military training.

In studying its experiences, it is necessary to learn from its good job in firmly grasping the core task of building a socialist spiritual civilization--conducting education on communism among youths and militiamen. The problems of young workers exist in various aspects. Some obvious ones are that some youths are lax in organizational disciplines, get blunted in their sense of legal systems and even blindly seek the ways of bourgeois life. In adopting measures for remolding these youths, the Jilin paper mill CPC Committee has not taken stopgap measures, but has grasped the basic work to conduct education on communism among youths. The mill CPC Committee had contended that, though the measure for solving problems existing in the youth's sense of organizational discipline is important, it has only laid a foundation for mapping out a correct road and creating conditions for making a start, and that the measure for helping youths foster their communist ideals and outlook on life is most fundamental. Therefore, the mill CPC Committee has conducted repeated education on cherishing the party, the motherland, socialism, the plant, the collective and their own work among youths. As a result, the great progress of ideological improvement among youths has taken place. Advanced youths have made further progress in ideology and the backward have caught up with the advanced or have become advanced ones.

In studying its experiences, it is necessary to learn from its high consciousness in carrying out militia work management, assigning tasks for militiamen and bringing into full play the superior role of the militia organizations in educating and training youths. The Jilin paper mill CPC Committee has

discerned the unique characteristics of the militia organizations--strict disciplines, strict military and political training and resolute political and ideological work that the PLA has passed on them.

The mill CPC Committee has also discerned that militia organizations are the inseparable component of the party's work and the main force of achieving the two civilizations. It, therefore, has actively taken these characteristics as work means and brought their role into full play, making use of the militia organizations in conducting education among youths and environmental sanitation activities, consolidating social order, improving service quality, waging a campaign of promoting production and dealing with emergency and relief work. It can be said that the mill CPC Committee is the leading body that is proficient and good at making use of militia organizations in work. Some localities and units across the province have not been good in this regard and have not brought the militia role into full play. This is not only a shortcoming and fault of work, but also a waste of manpower.

All-in-all, the experience gained by the Jilin paper mill in this regard is practical, wholesome and worthy of emulation and popularization. We are convinced that the mill's experience will be more and more acknowledged by the people as time goes by. At present, we should earnestly do a good job in organizing the people to study and publicize the 12th CPC Congress documents and resolutions and first enable the 12th CPC Congress expositions concerning the campaign of building a socialist spiritual civilization to be known by every household and individual.

In publicizing and implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, bearing in mind the actual situation of our unit, we should learn from the experience gained by the Jilin paper mill. Efforts should be made to learn from its basic work, to integrate the study with actual situations but to refrain from merely copying its work. We should also integrate the study with the activities of carrying out environmental sanitation, consolidating social order, improving service quality and building civilized villages and streets.

We are convinced that by further studying and publicizing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and learning from the experience gained by advanced provinces and autonomous regions and by the Jilin paper mill we shall certainly be able to create a new situation of socialist spiritual civilization and militia work in both urban and rural areas throughout the province.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMENTARY CALLS FOR MORE, BETTER COMMUNIST WRITINGS IN ARMY LITERATURE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 4-5

[Commentator's Article: "More and Better Communist Writings in Army Literature"]

[Text] Now that the 12th National Party Congress has been successfully concluded, a vigorous study campaign is being launched among all concerned with literary work throughout the whole army, with the documents from the 12th National Party Congress as core subject. As the studies develop in depth, everybody in spontaneous consensus reflects on the question, how can the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress be effectively introduced into our army literature? In our opinion the main thing is to produce more and better communist writings, so as to bring army literature into full play as a vital new force in the building of socialist spiritual civilization that will have communist ideology as its core content.

Producing communist writings merely means that the creation of more and better pieces with a communist ideological content be made the primary task in our literary work during this new historical period and that this be made the common "mother-topic" of our literary creations. The reason for this is precisely as the report to the 12th National Party Congress pointed out: "If we overlook the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology throughout our society, people will fall into a onesided misunderstanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains." Moreover, as far as the army is concerned, this also relates to the question whether it can fulfil the task that Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th National Party Congress: "We will continue to maintain and foster the excellent tradition of the people's army, strengthen and improve our ideological and political work in the army to instill a strong spirit of self-sacrifice in each member of our army as well as a strict sense of organizational discipline and revolutionary style, so that our armies will not only form a Great Wall of steel in the defense of our socialist fatherland, but will also become a powerful force in the construction of our material and spiritual civilization." In this respect a wide field for creative activities has been opened up. Possible topics, for instance, are the communist ideals, convictions and prospects, the communist moral

values, the socialist consciousness of being masters of our country and the collectivist consciousness, the concepts of socialist rights and duties and of organizational discipline, the spirit of service to the people and faithfulness in the discharge of one's duties, courage to give one's life for the revolution, etc. For a lengthy period of time from now on we shall judge the flourishing and healthy state of literary creations, and we shall also observe whether they will show an increasing communist ideological content, also watch to what extent the writers will be able to express these topics in a vivid and profound way.

Since the Third Plenary Session, a fairly substantial amount of army literature has already laid a foundation in this respect. In works on military subjects we have seen a large number of works that extol the heroes who showed no fear of sacrifices during the counterattack in self-defense and who fought courageously for the fatherland. Some figures of pioneers in the four modernizations and of defenders of the country portrayed in these writings have already become models of the communist spirit in the new historical period. Literary creations with military topics have also depicted the images of people of a new type with new communist concepts of happiness and love. For instance, the roles of Zheng Zhitong, Yu Haizhou and the heroic group of their followers in the recently released feature film "Tianshan xing," or the low-ranking officer Yuan Han in the medium-length novel "Xie tian lang," depicted as working his heart out for the modernization and regularization of the army while being burdened with the national as well as family disasters, and also the "patriotic model of an army supporter" Zhao Zhenni, and the staunch defenders in "Hai shang hua yuan," etc. All these works are already imbued with a communist spirit that jolts the soul of the people and strikes a sympathetic chord in all readers. They play the role of "textbooks in images" of communist ideology and are indeed gratifying and commendable achievements. The large circle of readers will be grateful to the authors inside and outside the military for having expended their creative labor on these works.

Since the clear and distinct dissemination of communist ideology is the important mission of socialist literature, it is necessary that the writers bring to their subjects a high degree of political consciousness and a very powerful penmanship. According to these two requirements, there are still all kinds of shortcomings in the creations of military literature which demand further efforts.

As already mentioned, the military writers have indeed displayed a fairly high political enthusiasm and consciousness in their propagation of communism and in their creation of works with communist ideological content, however at a certain stage writers and their works became influenced by the "vagueness of communism" viewpoint. For instance, some works in describing the ideology and philosophical reflections of their figures have them express doubts in the materialist world outlook and convert to certain religious beliefs. Some works also besmirched the heroes, triumphantly returning from the counterattack in self-defense against Vietnam, as down in spirits and of conducting themselves in unbecoming

behavior. Still other works convey to their readers the idea of the "supremacy of love over all else."--Although these things appeared in only a very small number of works or in parts of a small number of works, and furthermore in general are problems that occurred as part of exploratory attempts, they still give an inkling of a certain trend, and as such deserve our special attention during our study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress; we must exert efforts to overcome this trend.

If we advocate to exert efforts on writing communist articles, it definitely does not mean that we should practice literary formalism, generalizing and oversimplifications. We hope that pieces of writing with communist ideological content will truly be pieces of art. Fake art that disregards the demand that art should reflect life, that adversely influences the characteristic ways of life and that runs counter to artistic rules, will have no powers of persuasion and cannot have any extensive effect on the readers. In this respect military literature will still require continued efforts. Among the creations as a whole there are still only few works that have communist ideological content as well as strong artistic power. To have communist ideology stuck on as a "beauteous tail" or as an "ostentatious yelling" is a lazy way of doing things. We must pose much higher demands on literature. When writing novels, there must be real lifelike personalities, and as to poems, they must truly be poems.--This is the only way that we can bring the social educational value of communist writings into play in a more effective way.

The spring breeze of the 12th National Party Congress is blowing all over the country and military literature, as well as the literature of the whole country, must also blossom forth with new vigor. Let us have outstanding achievements to welcome the first granting of awards, the "Chinese People's Liberation Army Literature Awards," next year and welcome a springtime of military literature with an abundant flowering like a tapestry of brocade!

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WEN YI BAO' ARTICLE ON LITERATURE, ART EVALUATED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982
pp 43-51

[Article by Yu Yizu [0151 0001 0586]: "Preliminary Evaluation on an Article in WEN YI BAO"]

[Text] It is indeed "a noteworthy matter of principle."

Living leisurely in the countryside, my only pastime is to go over every day all the newspapers and periodicals that I have access to. One day I came across a publication on matters concerning literature and art put out by WEN YI BAO. Its leading article, strikingly entitled "A Noteworthy Matter of Principle" (hereinafter referred to as "A Matter of Principle") immediately attracted my attention. After going over it carefully, I felt at a loss to make out the implications of its specious and elusive arguments. Fortunately, it concluded by assuring us that "some comrades are about to publish their writings on this matter." An article on literature and art signed by "Yu Dong" appeared not long thereafter in WEN YI BAO, No 5, 1982. I presume this is one of the articles published by "some comrades."

So I fetched out that periodical, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO No 2, 1982 which had been criticized in "A Matter of Principle," and studied carefully the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" and other articles on renewed study of "the speech" all of which the signed article in WEN YI BAO attacked. After comparing the two sides, I find I am impressed only by the title of the signed article in WEN YI BAO.

Why? Because this year is the fortieth anniversary of Comrade May Zedong's "Speech at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" (hereinafter referred to as "the speech"). Having served for 40 years as the guiding ideology of the revolutionary literature and art of the Chinese people, "the speech" has an epoch-making impact on the history of Chinese revolutionary literature and art, a historical achievement which nobody can deny. It has led the revolutionary literature and art of the Chinese people to a spectacular height as attested by such an impressive number of writers and remarkable works. The experience, problems and mistakes in the implementation of "the speech" should be summed up and reexamined. The pernicious leftist influence of the Lin-Jiang counterrevolutionary clique which had distorted and undermined "the

speech" during the 10 years of internal turmoil still awaits further cleaning up. The opinions and attitude of a very small number of comrades who have doubted, questioned and even rejected in the past few years the fundamental principles of "the speech" should also be examined in a comradely manner. Moreover, due to both subjective and objective reasons, we have not publicized and studied "the speech" as much as we should (even less by the younger literature and art workers). In view of these specific conditions, SHIDAI DE BAOGAO has asked the contemporary literary and art circles to study "the speech" again, and offered an exclusive section to publish what one gains from the study. I think this is a praiseworthy deed which confronts the literary and art circles with "a noteworthy matter of principle."

Instead of actively promoting the study of "the speech," WEN YI BAO, an important theoretical journal of the Writers' Union which commands high public esteem, launched an allout drive on the fortieth anniversary of the publication of "the speech" to denounce SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and its "Explanatory Note of the Journal" for no plausible reason except to mislead the public. What is this all about? Do they mean to publicize "the speech" or to deflect the enthusiasm of the public to study "the speech?" This extremely abnormal approach is indeed "strange" and "difficult to comprehend."

The writer of "A Matter of Principle" singled out the following portion of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" as the target of his attack: "For 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' 'the speech' has been distorted and undermined by the leftists and the rightists. Using the ultra-leftist method, the counterrevolutionaries led by Lin Biao and Joiang Qing turned the people's literature and art, which should work for the workers, peasants and soldiers, into conspiratory literature and art to aid the Lin-Jiang gang to seize power. After the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people took 'the speech' as fetters which they want to break through but ended up in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism."

Speaking through the signed article, WEN YI BAO declared the statement an error, especially the expression "16 years" which it described as "strange and difficult to comprehend." After reading the paragraph over and over again, I think it stated the actual situation very clearly, neither strange nor difficult to comprehend. What is really strange and difficult to comprehend is the extraordinary attack mounted by one periodical against a short "explanatory note" of another periodical.

As an editorial note to cover a series of articles, the "Explanatory Note" of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is an introduction of less than one page and only a few hundred characters to its new section on learning. It is not an analysis of the situation at the literary and art front or discussions of the dissertations presented by the two opposing camps in recent years, nor does it criticize any writings favoring the ultra-leftist ideology or capitalist liberalism, much less the problems they pose. As far as we the reading public are concerned, we should respond favorably to the "Explanatory Note," if its basic points of view are corrent and well-meant. Having the same goal in view, we ought to work together wholeheartedly to encourage the literary and art circles to study anew "the speech" and see to it that the program goes well enough to bring

about greater ideological unity and more coordination in action based on Mao Zedong's principles of literature and art. But this was not what the signed article of WEN YI BAO set out to accomplish. Saying nothing about either the evaluation of "the speech" by the "Explanatory Note" or the suggestion of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO to resurrect the study of "the speech," it quoted the "Explanatory Note" out of context and heaped startling accusations on certain expressions it had misinterpreted. This approach is indeed difficult to comprehend.

The leading comrade of the Central Committee has called on the literary and art circles in recent years to strengthen unity and harmony for the sake of the Four Modernizations. Heading in the same direction toward the same objective, he urged us not to say or do anything detrimental to unity. Doing practically nothing for unity and harmony, the WEN YI BAO has set out to find fault with others, fan up sparks of dissension and friction, and went as far as to attack a short "explanatory note" of another publication. What do you people want to do by treating others so harshly? Today we know our enemies at home and abroad, and those who have an axe to grind have been sowing dissensions in our literary and art circles, hoping to fish in troubled waters. Whom are you working for by making trouble out of nothing? What do you expect to accomplish by provoking the dispute on the fortieth anniversary of the publication of "the speech?"

Is the expression "16 years" wrong?

The author of "A Matter of Principle" made a great deal of fuss about the expression "16 years." He took it as vulnerable point of the "Explanatory Note" which he could capitalize on (even though the "doctrine of three don'ts" has been widely publicized since the downfall of the "gang of four," but WEN YI BAO which took part in the propaganda just does not practice it, especially when it goes on a harrassing spree). He said the expression "16 years" is "novel and strange" because it is not found either in the "resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee or in the documents and addresses of the responsible comrades of the Central Committee. It might be true that he could not find it there because the "Explanatory Note," a preface to a publication, is not the kind of literature which should quote from official documents. The fuss over a simple expression not found in any official document sets an example of extreme unreasonableness in contemporary literary and art circles. Does it mean that nobody can use any phrase or expression unless it has appeared in an official document? Do we have to copy the official documents when we write something for publication? If so, have all the expressions you people used in "A Matter of Principle" ever appeared in any official documents? For instance, you have used such expressions as "two completely different historical periods" and "our country now is in a very complex historical period." Have you located these in the "Resolution" or any other document of the Central Committee? Aren't you also the originators of these "odd concepts"?

Having spotted the "16 years," the author of "A Matter of Principle" has metaphysically deduced from it a series of charges against the "Explanatory Note," such as "blurring the line of demarcation between the two historical periods," "blotting out the epoch-making impact of the Third Plenum of the

Eleventh CPC Central Committee on the history of CPC and China," and "promoting discussions which are incompatible with the program of the Third Plenum to seek truth from facts, to emancipate the mind, to bring order out of chaos, and to rely on practical application as the only measure of truth." The "16 years" indeed is a monstrous crime!

The deductive reasoning of the comrade who wrote "A Matter of Principle" for WEN YI BAO runs like this: You have to say that the 16 years since the "Great Cultural Revolution" cover two different periods: 10 years prior to the downfall of the "gang of four," or 12 years before the Third Plenum (Eleventh CPC Central Committee) and 4 years after the Third Plenum. Since you did not say 10 and 6 separately and failed to keep 12 apart from 4, you have lumped the two as a total of 16 which blurred the basic demarcation of the two historical periods, you have denied a change of course achieved by the Third Plenum. Since you denied the change of course achieved by the Third Plenum, you have denied the great anti-"leftist" achievement. Since you denied the great anti-"leftist" achievement, you have denied the program and line of the Third Plenum to seek truth from facts, to emancipate the mind, and to bring order out of chaos. Since you denied the program to emancipate the mind and to seek truth from facts, you have denied that practical application is the only measure of truth, and so forth. The comrade who wrote "A Matter of Principle" is indeed an accomplished logician and persecutor. He claims that the residue of the pernicious influence of the Lin-Jiang clique is still serious enough as to require further cleaning up. That is correct. The persecution technique used in "A Matter of Principle" against the "Explanatory Note" attests that the residue of the pernicious influence of the Lin-Jiang clique is indeed quite alarming. I think the comrades who wrote "A Matter of Principle" should immediately clean up the pernicious leftist influence they themselves have contracted. It is much better to clean up oneself before trying to clean up others.

Is the expression "16 years" really wrong? After pondering over it and studying it in its proper context, I find nothing wrong with it. Why? After all, expressions, such as "many years ago, many years later, for many years" are a time reference in discussions, a simple concept of time without any substantive content. What people discuss within that time limit, the real substance, could be either right or wrong. Yet such a simple expression of time has been arbitrarily branded as a "new formulation." I do not know whether this is due to ignorance and other ulterior motives. In all those years since our elementary school days, we have come across numerous expressions of time in our history textbooks, such as "for 5000 years," "for 2000 years," "for over 100 years since the Opium War," "for decades since the May Fourth Movement," "in all those years since the founding of the CPC in 1921," "in all those years since the Mukden Incident," "in all those years since the Marco Polo incident," "in all those years since the founding of the PLA," "in all those years since the establishment of the PRC," plus what you people used to say: "for 40 years" and "since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee." The expression "since the Great Cultural Revolution" has been used even more frequently. Why should "16 years" be banned? You people say the Great Cultural Revolution began in 1966, and now it is 1982. Isn't that exactly 16 years?

According to the comrade who wrote "A Matter of Principle" for WEN YI BAO, if we gave a total of 16 without saying 10 plus 6 or 12 plus 4, we would blur the basic demarcation of the two historical periods. If so, would we blur the demarcations between the feudal society, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, and the socialist society if we used the expression "for more than 2000 years since the unification of China by the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty...."? Would we blur the demarcations between the Qing Regime, the North China warlords, the Nanking government, and the People's Republic of China if we said "for more than 100 years since the Opium War of 1840...."? Would we blur the demarcation between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the several periods of revolution if we said "for 30 years the May Fourth Movement, the beginning of the new democratic revolution, and the liberation of the whole country...."? Would we blur the demarcation between the socialist transformation, the 10 years of internal turmoil, and the downfall of the "gang of four" if we said "for 32 years since the founding of the PRC...."?

If all the expressions given above did not lead to confusion and blurring, why would we blur the demarcation between the two historical periods by saying "for 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'"? What kind of logic is that?

As a matter of fact, the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" has drawn a clear distinction between the two periods. The one refers to the 10 years of internal turmoil dominated by the ultra-leftism of the counterrevolutionists led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, while the other refers to the period after the downfall of the "gang of four" when some form of rightist deviation began to appear (not that the ultra-leftism no longer exists) in the drive to criticize ultra-leftism. It made the distinction between the two historical periods very clear, and especially pointed out that only some people had shown such a deviation. How could it be held responsible for a failure to distinguish the two historical periods! I believe to say that rightist deviation has emerged after the downfall of the "gang of four" does not imply at all a denial of the spectacular achievement of the anti-"leftist" drive at the literary and art front, nor does it imply a complete switch of focus from anti-"leftism" to anti-rightism. It is but a shift of emphasis based on the actual conditions. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" has pointed out: "The facts of these 16 years speak for both the positive and negative sides...." That is to say there were both negative and positive scores in implementing the principles of "the speech" during those 16 years. The positive scores represent the spectacular achievement in doing what is appropriate. These positive scores have been the mainstay since the downfall of the "gang of four." It is therefore utterly unreasonable to brand the expression "16 years" as a denial of the spectacular anti-"leftist" achievement.

In spite of the accusations which the author of "A Matter of Principle" has hurled at the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," he has made himself unreasonable and fallacious in attempting to exploit the expression "16 years."

What is the best way to discuss the two-line struggle at the current literary and art front?

The author of "A Matter of Principle" is of the opinion that any discussion of the interruptions from both the "left" and the right should cover the "past 40 years" or the "32 years since the founding of the PRC" rather than those 16 years only. Personally I do not think it is a good idea to bring up both the old and the new scores simultaneously. First, I am afraid the old scores prior to the Cultural Revolution could never be straightened out. Second, to bring up the old scores does not necessarily promote unity in the literary and art circles. If we were to bring up all the old scores from the day the Yenan "speech" was published to the time of the Cultural Revolution, and publish the names of the "leftists" and the rightists as well as all the writings, speeches and reports, would you comrades of "A Matter of Principle" find it appropriate and conducive to unity and forward-looking spirit? To work for the interests of all and to strengthen unity, the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" limits its discussions to the events of the last 16 years which everybody knows well and feels concerned, and avoids the interruptions from both the "left" and the right prior to the Cultural Revolution. That is not at all a crime but a very wise decision. Didn't you comrades of "A Matter of Principle" say that "ever since the publication of 'the speech' 40 years ago, there has always been the struggle between the two ideologies, two deviations?" If that were the case, I should like to listen to your views on the struggle between the two ideologies, two deviations, which has existed "ever since" the publication of "the speech." But I do not think it would be wise for you to bring up the old scores of those 40 years.

The author of "A Matter of Principle" has charged that to discuss the "16 years" is to deny the struggles before the Cultural Revolution, and to deny the "ever mounting 'leftist deviations' named in the 'resolution'." However, it must be pointed out that the "resolution" tackled those deviations in the light of basically correct literary and art line of the CPC at the time. That differs diametrically from the position of some who allege that the pre-Cultural Revolution line of literature and art was a "leftist" deviation. If we agree with the few people who claim that "what had been implemented during the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution is a 'left deviationist' line of literature and art (some even claim that what had been implemented after the publication of "the speech" and before the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee are all "left deviations"), we are bound to reach the conclusion that our contemporary senior, middle-aged, and young literary and art workers (including practically all writers, artists, literary and art theory specialists and those engaged in literary and art education) are oriented in the "leftist" line of literature and art line. If that were true, then they would not offer any resistance to the ultra-leftist and fascist practices of the Lin-Jiang counterrevolutionary clique. That is not actually true. The greatest majority of the literary and art workers not only resisted but also opposed Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In examining the line of literature and art of the 17 years prior to the "Cultural Revolution," we must note the painful lesson of the "leftist" deviations, and the commanding position of the correct line. Any undue exaggeration of the "leftism" of that period is a distortion of historical facts and a vilification of the masses of literary and art workers.

Then, why did the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" fail to discuss the anti-deviation struggles before the Cultural Revolution? In addition to the reasons given above, I think it was because the history of literature and art in the last 40 years shows that "leftism" was at its peak during the 10 years of internal turmoil while rightism reached its peak in the last few years. These "last few years" of course were not dominated completely by rightism. It means the rightist interruption had emerged during the last few years even though the overall state of literature and art was healthy. These two instances are enough to show the perniciousness of both "leftism" and rightism, and the reason for renewed study of "the speech." It is unnecessary to bring up what had transpired prior to the "Cultural Revolution." The charges hurled at the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" by the author of "A Matter of Principle" for failing to do so are utterly untenable.

The author of "A Matter of Principle" for WEN YI BAO also charged that since the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" said nothing about what had happened "since the Third Plenum (Eleventh CPC Central Committee), it must have meant to confirm the presence of liberalism in the literary and art circles after the downfall of the "gang of four" and deny that the pernicious influence of "leftism" still exists. True, in its discussion of the undesirable trends after the downfall of the "gang of four," the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" did not touch upon the pernicious "leftist" influence; it discussed exclusively the rightist interruptions. But I do not believe silence implies a denial. The "leftist" and rightist interruptions mentioned in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" refer to main trends which it cited to illustrate what threatened "the speech." As an editorial note, limited in space, it did quite well by limiting its discussion to rightism as it surveyed the erroneous trends of the last few years. This does not imply that "leftism" no longer exists and only a "single-line" struggle remains after the downfall of the "gang of four."

The question whether the main thrust after the downfall of the "gang of four" has been anti-"leftism" or anti-rightism, I believe that due to the 10 years of internal turmoil, the guiding ideology after the downfall of the "gang of four" has been to combat "leftism" and uproot the pernicious influence of the Lin-Jiang clique. But the conditions have changed as time went on, and the struggle intensified. In the anti-"leftist" struggle, there were people who achieved satisfactory results in the struggle by adhering to the correct line and invoking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to combat "leftism." Those who ran into difficulties from the beginning were people who took the erroneous line and invoked bourgeois liberalism, ultra-individualism and anarchism to combat "leftism." The pursuit of the democracy wall, the democrat brick, unlawful organizations, clandestine publications, pornographic books and periodicals, decadent music, infatuation with and worship of foreigners, and compromise of national honor are often couched in terms of anti-"leftism" and the "double hundred-blossoms program." Some even espoused bourgeois liberalism in the name of "emancipating the mind." What these people oppose is not any form of "leftism" but the leadership of the party and the socialist system. Although the ill consequences of using rightism to oppose "leftism" have been well established, the practice still continues. Those dedicated to rightism seem to find rigid "leftism" in almost everything, and even Marxism-Leninism has turned "left" in their eyes.

As pointed out by the CPC Central Committee, lax and ineffective leadership during the anti-"leftist" drive provided an opportunity for bourgeois liberalism to creep in and run rampant, so much so that it became the dominant trend of the time. As a result, it becomes necessary to oppose rightism as the drive to criticize "leftism" continues. This is also a well known fact. So the leading comrade of the Central Committee called on us to seek truth from facts in order to determine whether "leftism" and rightism still exist. Attack "leftism" if it exists; attack rightism if it exists. Intensify the anti-"leftist" drive when "leftism" runs rampant; intensify the anti-right drive when right runs rampant. The serious problem on hand is the upsurge and spread of the rightist trend. I believe this scientific and realistic assessment is extremely convincing.

The arguments advanced by the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO are misleading, hackneyed and arbitrary. He argued that inasmuch as our struggle since the downfall of the "gang of four," especially after the Third Plenum of CPC Eleventh Central Committee, has been against "leftism," we should not talk about struggles against rightism. If we did, it would amount to promotion of "leftism." That simply does not agree with the actual conditions in the literary and art circles. I remember when the CPC Central Committee set out to criticize bourgeois liberalism, someone asked: Why should our literary and art circles oppose rightism while the whole country struggles against "leftism"? That question was not based on facts, though plausibly worded. In the first place, it is not true that the whole country struggles only against "leftism" and not against rightism. Aren't the criticisms of unprincipled and demeaning diplomatic conduct a struggle against rightism? Isn't the opposition to special privileges and bureaucratism a struggle against rightism? Wasn't it a struggle against rightism when CPC Central Committee called on us in 1980 to guard against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology. In the second place, even if everybody else opposes only "leftism," the literary and art circles may still oppose rightism. The crucial point is whether it exists. We ought to oppose it if it does. There is no reason for us to oppose it if it does not exist. We all remember in the mid 1930's the top priority of the CPC was to oppose Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunism. During the Long March, unfortunately, we were confronted with Zhang Guotao's rightist division and defection. Shouldn't we oppose him? Of course we should. The CPC Central Committee launched struggles against Zhang Guotao's rightist division and defection between battles during the Long March and after it had reached northern Shaanxi. If Zhang Guotao asked at that time: Why do you people oppose my rightism while the Party opposes "leftism"? How would the comrade of WEN YI BAO who wrote "A Matter of Principle" say to him under such circumstances? (Please excuse me. This is only an illustration.)

Now let us go back to the reality at the ideological front. According to the "Resolution", the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, meeting in August, 1980, called for a drive to combat the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and to weed out the pernicious feudalist influence on political ideology. The CPC Central Committee work conference voted in December, 1980, to criticize the erroneous ideological trends which contravene the Four Fundamental Principles. Since the beginning of 1981, the CPC Central Committee

has issued a series of directives and held various discussion forums on the problems at the ideological front, the need to tighten up discipline and criticize bourgeois liberalism while the criticism of "leftism" continues. A struggle has been going on in the last 6 months to combat serious economic crimes and corrosive influences. These are obviously anti-rightist rather than anti-"leftist" measures. Comrade Qiao Mu points out that policy of the CPC Central Committee since Third Plenum has been to combat liberalism, and that anti-"leftism" and anti-rightism are not antithetical. Yet the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO said emphatically "our struggle ever since the Third Plenum has been anti-"leftism," and did not even mention anti-rightism. Does this agree with the policy of the CPC Central Committee? The CPC has asked more than once all its members to keep in lockstep politically with its Central Committee. Have you been acting in lockstep with the CPC Central Committee?

Sidestepping the problems confronting the literary and art circles to keep the truth well hidden, the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO dwelt on "the ideological trends" in the last 2 years "which violate the Four Fundamental Principles," "the emphasis on the struggle against bourgeois liberalism," and that "the main thrust ever since the Third Plenum has been anti-"leftism." Does the expression "ever since" which you used in claiming that ever since the Third Plenum the main thrust has been anti-"leftism" cover the last 2 years? If it doesn't where would you place "the last 2 years," before or after the Third Plenum? If it does, how would one reconcile the two claims, "the main thrust has been anti-"leftism" on the one hand and "the emphasis" on anti-rightism on the other? Why are you so nervous about anti-rightism when the question happens to be either anti-"leftism" or anti-rightism?

Is ideological remoulding still necessary?

The author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO has misinterpreted the articles on renewed study of "the speech" published in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO no 2. The crucial issue is whether the literary and art circles still require ideological remoulding.

The article in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is of the opinion that even though our literary and art workers as a whole have become a part of the working class, the emergence in recent years of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, and unhealthy trends in literary works show that the communist world outlook and proletarian stand are still not firmly rooted. As far as the literary and art workers are concerned, they still have to tackle the problem of ideological remoulding and change of stand. These observations based on facts are correct.

But they are not acceptable to the author of "A Matter of Principle" who charged that to suggest the literary and art worker still require ideological remoulding and change of stand contradicts the declaration of CPC Central Committee that the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, and its directive calling for a halt to the use of "ideological remoulding as a slogan." This calls for a discussion of the following issues.

First, do the intellectuals (including the literary and art workers) who have become a part of the working class still require ideological remoulding? I think they do. Inasmuch as the working class is neither "born red" nor "guaranteed red," every member of the working class still needs to remould himself. Our senior proletarian revolutionaries believe they should continue remoulding themselves as long as they live. That is what they say and that is what they do. Why are the literary and art workers so special that they no longer need ideological remoulding? The theory of "halting ideological remoulding" is not only wrong and harmful but also "a noteworthy matter of principle!"

Second, should the literary and art workers be assigned a task of ideological remoulding? I think that is acceptable. As spiritual engineers and educators, shouldn't the literary and art workers educate themselves first? I am afraid nobody can guarantee that the literary and art workers whose ideology has already been remoulded do not need any more remoulding. In reality, we must admit that there are some among our literary and art workers, including members of the Communist Party, whose world outlook is outmoded, semi-outmoded or bourgeois, and who are not really siding with the proletariat and the CPC. Furthermore, as our literary and art contingents will keep taking new recruits, there are bound to be inconsistencies. This makes the task to secure ideological unity and remould the world outlook even more urgent. Failing that, we would not be able to carry out the glorious mission of serving the people and socialism.

Third, does one contradict the spirit of the CPC Central Committee by proposing ideological remoulding and change of stand? The fact that past experience and the current situation have prompted the leadership to put a halt to "ideological remoulding" as a slogan does not imply an abandonment of the principle of ideological remoulding, especially voluntary ideological remoulding which some people missed. If we are fair and do not distort the views given above, we cannot deny the need for the literary and art workers to pursue ideological remoulding.

Historically speaking, the impact of "leftism" on the implementation of ideological remoulding had led to numerous abuses which hurt many good comrades. It is a great loss and a lesson to remember. Those abusive "leftist" approaches should be rejected and prevented from being repeated. But the rejection of the abusive "leftist" approaches should not lead to a complete abandonment of the task. The correct attitude should be to learn from the past experience and improve the methods in order to achieve better ideological remoulding.

To commemorate the publication of "the speech" on 23 May of this year, the CPC Central Committee has brought up again the problem of remoulding the ideology of the literary and art workers. The newspapers have published the 15 letters which Comrade Zedong had written to the literary and art circles, and a speech by Comrade Chen Yun (On the Two Tendencies among the Literary and Art Workers of the Party). They all touched upon this very problem. Delivered nearly 40 years ago, Comrade Chen Yun's ideas are still fresh, and the two tendencies he had pointed out are still crucial and real. It is still an excellent guide for remoulding and improving the ideology of today's literary and art workers.

Comrade Chen Yun's article is preceded by a comment of the Propaganda Department reiterating the importance and need to remould the ideology of the CPC's literary and art workers. I could not agree more with the views expressed in the comment, and find the views expressed in the signed article of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO in lockstep with those of the comment of the Central Propaganda Department. Do the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO agree with the comment of the Central Propaganda Department?

What is the crucial issue? This is really "a noteworthy matter of principle."

Why did WEN YI BAO launch without any legitimate cause at all a coordinated drive on the fortieth anniversary of the publication of "the speech" against the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO and carry the article signed by Yudong? Where lies the crux of the problem? I believe the issue is definitely not the "16 years." If it were, the issue could be easily clarified by a letter to the editor or a telephone call. People told me the editorial departments of the two publications are close enough for the comrades concerned to have a face-to-face talk to square away the arguments. Why was it necessary to launch such an allout attack? I am sure the crux of the problem lies in certain basic differences between their approach to literature and art.

Let us concentrate on the arguments advanced in "A Matter of Principle." They do not approve of at least three things done by SHIDAI DE BAOGAO. First, they do not approve of the suggestion to study "the speech" again. Second, they do not approve of the firm opposition to bourgeois liberalism. Third, they do not approve of the argument that the literary and art workers still require ideological remoulding.

1. In the eyes of the author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO, "the speech" is the source of "leftist" literature and art not worth studying, and should be criticized and rejected. The author of "A Matter of Principle" who wrote the article purportedly to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of "the speech" and to study it showed very little interest in the fundamental principles of "the speech" and its impact. Instead, he "studied" very carefully the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" and wrote a proclamation of warnings. He was especially interested in the "revisions" of "the speech," and even provided the reading public with statistical data to show that "the speech" had been revised for as many as 467 errors, over 50 of which are major errors. (This was changed to "tens of relatively important revisions" in "A Matter of Principle" signed by Yudong which appeared in WEN YI BAO.) Dear readers, please note how meticulous they are in matters of statistics. I should like to know what is all this about, to study or to play down "the speech"?

Personally, I think the attitude of those comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO toward study anew "the speech" is wrong. They allege that in addition to more than the 400 corrections already made, "the speech" still requires "deliberations" and "new formulations." In a word, they rate "the speech" as an outmoded document riddled with mistakes and ought to be criticized. To them it is outrageous and "unorthodox" for SHIDAI DE BAOGAO to oppose their "development" of "the speech," to promote the study of "the speech," and to set up an exclusive section on the study.

Like our evaluation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the issue concerning "the speech" is: Should "the speech" be regarded as an important exposition of the Marxist-Leninist theory of literature and art as well as a programmatic article on socialist literature and art. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" has made it clear from the outset that "the speech" is the most important piece of literature next to the Marxist theory and science of literature and art...and still serves as the beacon of the socialist literature and art. This summary evaluation of "the speech" attests that it is a new development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of literature and art. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" also points out: "Of course 'the speech' should be developed to accommodate the new conditions. But such developments should uphold instead of rejecting and abandoning its fundamental principles." Personally, I think no attempt to develop it is genuine unless it adheres to its fundamental principles. Sidestepping these issues, the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO are interested only in adopting "a historical and dialectical materialist approach" to revise "the speech." It sounds plausible, but they know what is hidden behind it.

2. The author of "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO is disturbed and unhappy about the criticism of bourgeois liberalism. In most recent years, some believe the pre-"Cultural Revolution" CPC followed a "leftist" line in literature and art, and the criticism of ultra-leftism after the downfall of the "gang of four" led to the emergence of bourgeois liberalism which the leadership calls emphatic criticism. This has not won the favor of some people who claim that we may criticize "leftism" but not rightism in literature and art because they assume that bourgeois liberalism does not exist in China. At the close of the forum on the problems at the ideological front convened by the CPC Central Committee, some people even questioned what liberalism is and where its manifestations are. They do not think literary works such as "Kulian" should be criticized (I think this represents the attitude of WEN YI BAO toward those who criticize "Kulian"). Viewing the criticism of bourgeois liberalism as a matter of formality, the author of "A Matter of Principle" is committed to pursue the criticism of "leftism" vigorously. He was infuriated by the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," and wants to teach him a lesson for his attack of those who fell into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism by trying to break through the "fetters" of "the speech."

3. As for the problem of ideological remoulding, the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO are opposed to requiring the literary and art workers to undergo ideological remoulding and to change their stand. They are really in favor of "abolishing ideological remoulding" and "spontaneous ideological remoulding" because they claim that since the literary and art workers are now a part of the working class, their ideology has already been remoulded. However, the leading comrade of CPC Central Committee and Central Propaganda Department believe the problem is that some people are not enthusiastic enough to take up self-remoulding. It is therefore necessary to encourage the literary and art workers to remould their ideology voluntarily, and make it a basic longterm task for all CPC members engaged in literary and art work. I think the viewpoint of the signed article in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is in complete agreement with the leading comrade of CPC

Central Committee while the position of "A Matter of Principle" runs contrary to spirit of the CPC Central Committee. These issues presented without distortion really involve "a noteworthy matter of principle"! I do not know whether the comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" would agree with me.

The comrades behind "A Matter of Principle" in WEN YI BAO capitalized on the issue of the "16 years" to attack the "Explanatory Note of the Journal." Having accused it of opposing the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, and contradicting the line, program and policy of the CPC (the most serious charges as of today), they contrived a conciliatory posture by declaring that "the difference" between themselves and the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO are just "differences of opinion among the people which may be resolved by reasoning." I should say they are very lenient by treating "the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy" as the contradiction among the people. Very well. Since you are willing to invite reasoning, I should like every comrade to comment on the views I have presented.

(Written on 23 May 1982, the fortieth anniversary of the publication of the "Speech at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art.)

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CSO: 4005/1232

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'WEN YI BAO' ARTICLE CRITICIZED

Xu Ximing

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982
pp 51-52

[Article by Xu Ximing [1776 1119 2494] of Yuyao Teachers College, Zhejiang Province: "Taking Exception to WEN YI BAO's Criticism of the 'Explanatory Note of the Journal'"]

[Text] When I first read the articles by Comrades Yudong and Xin Xu in WEN YI BAO, Nos 5 and 6, 1982, which attacked the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, No 2, I was impressed by the perceptivity of both authors as I was too stupid to detect anything wrong with the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" when I read it. After going over it again very carefully, I still could not find anything wrong. On the contrary, I was shocked by the critical attitude and tactics of both Yu and Xin. Fortunately, WEN YI BAO has committed itself to let different schools of thought contend. So I should like to take exception to their rude and ill-founded criticisms.

First, is it a crime to affirm the important role of "the speech" in the last 40 years?

The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" stated very clearly right from the beginning: "the speech" was published "nearly 40 years ago." There is no mistake in so far as the number of years is concerned. As an editorial comment of only about 500 characters with neither space nor the need to go into the history of all the struggles in the literary and art circles during the last 40 years, it simply affirmed "the important role of 'the speech' in guiding our literature and art...and leading the masses to herald the march of history." Blameless as this is, both Yu and Xin still found it necessary to launch a punitive campaign of criticism. While the one charged that "the failure to go into" the turbulence of "the last 40 years" seems to suggest that "there were apparently not any struggles to speak of before the 'Cultural Revolution'," the other alleged "the 17 years since the founding of the PRC...., contrary to what the 'Explanatory Note of the Journal' has said, were not all achievements without any 'leftist' and rightist interruptions." This is an outright misrepresentation of what the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" meant to say. As a matter of fact, it did not even touch upon the problems of the 17 years since the founding of the PRC.

Second, the attack on the "lumping together the 16 years" is groundless.

The expression "16 years" is really not a "creation" with specific connotations. It simply stands for the number of years between 1966 and 1982, a matter of simple arithmetic. Although the expression "16 years" is not used in the "Resolution," it is clearly indicated by the statement that 1949-1981 were "the 32 years since the founding of the PRC," of which 1949-1956 mark "the 7 years during which the socialist transformation was basically completed" while 1957-1966 were "the 10 years of all-out socialist construction." Don't we get "16 years" by deducting "7" and "10" from "32" plus the year since the adoption of the "Resolution? If the total of "10 years" and "6 years" were declared lumped just because a great historical event had taken place during those years, would "the 32 years since the founding of the PRC" which appeared in the "Resolution" be declared "a lumping together of 32 years"?

To clarify the matter for the reading public, I should like to quote that part of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" as follows: "For 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' 'the speech' has been distorted and undermined by the leftists and the rightists. Using the ultra-leftist method, the counterrevolutionaries led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing turned the people's literature and art, which should work for the workers, peasants and soldiers, into conspiratory literature and art to aid the Lin-Jiang gang to seize power. After the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people took 'the speech' as fetters which they want to break through but ended up in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism." Obvious enough, the 10 years before and the 6 years after the downfall of the "gang of four" are described as two distinctly different periods. How can anyone call it "lumping together," "putting both on a par," and "lumping both together"? What puzzles me most is that they took the statement of fact that "some people" regard "the speech" as fetters which they want to break through as "a denial of the strength and achievement brought to the literary and art front by the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, and that "some people" have "ended up" in "the quagmire" of liberalism as an "attempt to replace the essentials with non-essentials" in order "to smear and blot out the glorious history of the last 6 years." This peculiar form of logic indeed gives one food for thought.

I am afraid an ordinary reader not as "sensitive" as Yu and Xin, the two authors, would find it difficult to appreciate the authors' allegation that the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" is good-humored toward the counter-revolutionaries, but "full of wrath" toward the people.

I raise these objections to urge all literary critics to seek truth from facts and give full faith and credit to what the other party says without tampering with his intentions. To attribute to him what he did not say just for the purpose of attacking him will not convince either the attacked or the impartial readers.

(A cover letter)

Dear Comrade Editor:

I have read the criticisms of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in two separate issues of WEN YI BAO. Are you studying them or ready "to respond"? As a reader in a distant locality, I find it difficult to remain silent. Since the matter affects the quality of literary criticism, I feel duty-bound to register my "objections" even though I might face concerted attacks. I am enclosing the article hereinwith for your careful scrutiny.

I have given the name of the unit where I work so as to stop possible speculations that the article is ghostwritten by someone in your editorial department.

Please let me know if I have erred. Looking forward to hearing from you whether my writing will be published.

Revolutionary greetings,

Xu Ximing

24 June 1982

Gao Jie

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOPGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982
pp 52-53

[Article by Gao Jie [7559 3381], Leyang, Henan: "Why Do They Make Such a Fuss About the '16 Years'"]

[Text] (Author's Note) During my study on 17 June I saw a WEN YI BAO article in the "Literary and Art Activities" Section of the RENMIN RIBAO which criticizes your journal. After going over it, I felt sure Xin Xu wrote the article not so much to register his displeasure at the issues he had raised as to get after something sneaky. That is to say, he availed himself of the opportunity to give vent to his anger at your journal's criticism of "Kulian" a year ago. Feeling obliged to speak out on the matter, I spent several evenings on a copy of WEN YI BAO No 6 which I borrowed to prepare this article.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" had ended more than 5 years ago. Having laid to rest "mass convictions," I thought they have put a halt to such foul practices as putting labels on people, capitalizing on people's vulnerabilities and bludgeoning people. But I am surprised they are still in active use. If you do not believe me, please read an article called "Should the 16 Years Be Lumped Together?" signed by Xin Xu which appeared in WEN YI BAO No 6, 1982.

Quoting the statement "in the 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'...." from the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," Xin Xu charged that,

"linguistically speaking," the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" must have meant to imply that the "Great Cultural Revolution" is not yet over. Citing the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee to prove that the "Great Cultural Revolution" had ended in October 1976, he accused the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" guilty of contradicting the CPC Central Committee. In reality, "in the 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'...." and "in the 16 years of the 'Great Cultural Revolution'" are, "linguistically speaking," quite different. Suppose some said "in more than 100 years since the Opium War" and "in more than 60 years since the May Fourth Movement," would Xin Xu claim that the Opium War and the May Fourth Movement are still in progress? Xin Xu's reasoning is so absurd that it is simply ludicrous.

Xin Xu also resents the statement in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" that for 40 years "the speech" has been "instrumental in guiding the masses to herald the march of history." He charged that a failure to deal with the 7 years, 17 years, 10 years and 6 years separately implies "indiscrimination." No wonder people use to say where there is wish to condemn someone, there is always a way to trump up a charge against him. The whole matter is as absurd and arbitrary as limiting commerce to retail business only.

The "Explanatory Note of the Journal," a short article on renewed study of "the speech," simply does not have enough space to cover all the issues in question. But it did its best to present an overall picture. It is an established fact the "leftist" deviationist approach to "the speech," as it has pointed out, had existed before the "great Cultural Revolution" even though it did not peak until the "Great Cultural Revolution." It is also an established fact that some people have been affected with bourgeois liberalism in the last few years. Not long ago when bourgeois liberalism ran rampant, the CPC Central Committee not only criticized it but also directed its party organs at all levels to overcome laxity in discipline. As far as this goes, the views of the author of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" are based on objective facts and in complete agreement with the CPC Central Committee. Is this still a crime?

Xin Xu took issue with SHIDAI DE BAOGAO on an article in its first issue which stated: "There is no basic difference between the society then and now," has asked the reading public to check this against the "Resolution." But the "Resolution" differs completely from what Xin Xu had said. According to the "Resolution": "In spite of the damage done during the 'Great Cultural Revolution' by the two counterrevolutionary cliques led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, we have subdued them. The nature of the CPC, the people's government, the people's armed forces, and the society as a whole has not changed." I really cannot see what the difference is between "there is no basic difference in the society" on the one hand and "the society as a whole has not changed" on the other. Maybe the latter is more expressive than the former. But I should like to remind Xin Xu that the first issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO was published at the beginning of 1980 while the "Resolution" was passed in June 1981, and that the article in that first issue was done by a worker and his wife while the "Resolution" was the work of the whole party. It is no surprise that the two differ in style. What surprised me most is that Xin Xu has brooded over the matter for 2 years. The mere fact that WEN YI BAO was willing to publish Xin Xu's contradictory article warrants a thorough

scrutiny. We hope you people could spell out your true objective. If not, the reading public will ask you an inexplicable question: Why do you fuss about such a simple expression "16 years"?!

First draft at 0130, 20 Jun 82
Second draft at 2100, 21 Jun 82
Third draft at 1500, 23 Jun 82

Deng Bin

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982
pp 53-54

[Article by Deng Bin [6772 2430], Kaifeng, Henan: "Comment on Xin Xu's Article in WEN YI BAO"]

[Text] Everybody says literary criticism is important, and everybody enjoys healthy criticisms. To cherish a judicious wish is one thing, but to realize that wish is usually much more difficult than one anticipates. Comrade Xin Xu's article "Shouldn't the '16 Years' Be Lumped Together?" in which he criticized the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO is full of arbitrary arguments.

I remember some literary works were "liquidated" during the "Great Cultural Revolution" just for a single phrase. "A dead small tree" was construed as a "condemnation of the socialist system" and "a rusty bayonet" was an "obliteration of the combat capability of the old Red Army." It is a shame for Comrade Xin Xu to use such "smearing tactics" as his "executioner's weapon."

There is nothing wrong to criticize that portion of the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" in SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, provided the criticisms do not distort the overall theme of the article, and deal with issues based on facts instead of arbitrary accusations hurled at such a simple expression "for 16 years since the 'Great Cultural Revolution'" which, after all, is only a measure of time. (It must be noted that Xin Xu claimed that the "16 years" was used to stand for a period of history associated with the "Great Cultural Revolution." He does not seem to understand the meaning of the word "since" even though he said he approached the problem from a linguistic point of view. His style of criticism indeed leaves too much to be desired.)

First of all, this sensational title "Shouldn't the '16 Years' Be Differentiated?" is contrived by Comrade Xin Xu, and does not represent what the author intended to convey. The "Explanatory Note of the Journal" was meant to present some problems associated with the study and implementation of "the speech" but not a comparison of the situation at the literary and art front both before and after the downfall of the "gang of four," nor a summation of related literary works. "Issues" and "differentiations" are two different matters. How could Xin Xu misconstrue them?

According to the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," the crucial issue is that "after the downfall of the 'gang of four,' some people took 'the speech' as fetters which they want to break through but ended up in the quagmire of bourgeois liberalism." (This probably made Comrade Xin Xu very upset.) The statement may sound a bit acrimonious, but the problem does exist. For more than a year, the leading comrade of the CPC Central Committee has warned the literary and ideological circles of the emergence of bourgeois liberalism, and personally led the comrade of the literary and art circles to criticize and correct it. This is an irrefutable fact which, I am afraid, even Comrade Xin Xu cannot deny.

What puzzles me most is Comrade Xin Xu's plot to link together the "16 years" and the first issue of the journal in question which published a dialogue of a worker and his wife on "In the Archives of the Society" where the husband said: "There is no basic difference between the society then and the society today." Capitalizing on this comment, Xin Xu charged that the "16 years" and "no basic difference in the society" had embellished Lin Biao and the "gang of four," "glorified the 10 years of internal turmoil," and "blotted out the brilliant records of the last 6 years." Then he went on to say that "the true substance of 'the lumping of 16 years' is to show good humor for Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and deep-seated wrath for the people," and that the SHIDAI DE BAOGAO had contradicted the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee.

However, when I examined it closely, that is not the case; Xin Xu has deceived me. He has left out the relevant portions of the "Resolution" about which he has said a mouthful. I should like to quote that portion as follows.

The "Resolution" states: "In spite of the damage done by the two counter-revolutionary cliques led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' we have subdued them. The nature of the CPC, the people's government, the people's armed forces, and the society as a whole has not changed."

Comrade Xin Xu, since you want to talk about the question of the nature of society, how could you evade the very issue touched upon in the "Resolution" which you referred to?

It must be pointed out that the arguments claiming changes in the nature of the Chinese society is not Xin Xu's creation. They have been the standard theme advocated lately by WEN YI BAO. No doubt, a new historical period has ensued after the downfall of the "gang of four." There is a noticeable difference between the 10 years of internal turmoil and the years after the downfall of the "gang of four." But I cannot accept the changes in "the nature of the Chinese society" blown out of proportion by WEN YI BAO. In fact, this theme is by no means novel. It has appeared in a motion picture rated erroneous by some people. It pictured that the "gang of four" typified the Communists, that the 10 years of internal turmoil stood for what socialism was meant to be, and they have changed the nature of the Chinese society. What kind of theme is that? Comrade Qiao Mu is right when he said: "This viewpoint is a typical manifestation of bourgeois liberalism."

I remember during the trial of Jiang Qing and her counterrevolutionaries, the special tribunal kept clearly apart their crimes and the mistakes of the CPC. Jiang Qing not only spurned away the trial but also protested it. She believes they alone represent the CPC and socialism. Let me ask Comrade Xin Xu. Today do we still believe the lies they told us, regard them as the embodiment of the nature of the Chinese society, and allege that there has been a change in the nature of the Chinese society before and after the downfall of the "gang of four"?

Yu Lin

Beijing SHIADI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 1982 p 55

[Article by Yu Lin [6276 2651], a student of Beijing University: "Comment on Xin Xu's Article in WEN YI BAO"]

[Text] I am surprised that the "Explanatory Note of the Journal" for this year's February issue of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO, a 500-character comment, was provocative enough to prompt WEN YI BAO to stir up such a stormy controversy. "Shouldn't the '16 Years' be Lumped Together," published not long ago in WEN YI BAO is the most "violent" attack launched by that journal so far. But it is riddled with mistakes and hardly logical. I should like to point out a couple of things for the benefit of all concerned comrades.

1. "Astonished" by the two erroneous approaches in the last 16 years to "the speech" mentioned in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," Comrade Xin Xu pointed an accusing finger at that journal and labelled it "a lump of 16 years." But isn't it true that in those 16 years "the speech" was first seriously sabotaged by the "leftist" counterrevolutionary clique led by Lin and Jiang, and then "broken through" by some people in the rightist camp? Hasn't the article set apart the earlier 10 years of counterrevolutionary sabotage on the one hand and the later 6 years of "break through" by some people? But Comrade Xin Xu simply refused to acknowledge any distinction. If so, what kind of distinction does he want? He claimed that the ultra-leftist line of literature and art pursued by the Lin-Jiang clique during the first 10 of those 16 years had seriously hampered the development of literature and art, and that the major threat to the socialist literature and art during the last 6 years was still the ultra-leftism of the "gang of four." You see, if ultra-leftism were responsible in both cases, the issue of the emergence of bourgeois liberalism would be irrelevant. My beloved Comrade Xin Xu, aren't you also "lumping together the 16 years" by alleging that ultra-leftism had dominated the entire 16 years?

2. When Comrade Xin Xu invoked the linguistic "approach" to support his arguments, he deliberately substituted "people" for "some people" which appeared in the "Explanatory Note of the Journal," and accused the editors of SHIDAI DE BAOGAO of blaming the broad masses of literary and art workers for attempting to break through "the speech." My respectable Comrade Xin Xu, don't you ever blush with shame for indulging in fabrications and instigations?

3. Comrade Xin Xu, who loves to cite the "Resolution" to intimidate people, was afraid to refer to the comment in the "Resolution" on the nature of the Chinese society in the 10 years of internal turmoil when he tried to identify the changes in the nature of the society during those 10 years of internal turmoil and today. Instead, he clung stubbornly to the "theme of essential darkness" which has been widely criticized for more than two years, and said evasively: "For the time being, there is no need to argue whether Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stand for light or darkness, appearance or substance...because the people of the whole country know who they were, and the CPC Central Committee has reached its own conclusion long ago."

It must be noted that the statement "whether Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' stand for light or darkness" are insinuations fabricated by Comrade Xin Xu. Has SHIDAI DE BAOGAO ever "explored" this particular problem? Although it takes extraordinary knack to distort other people's intentions in order to accuse them of supporting the "gang of four," it is nevertheless slanderous to do so. This reminds me of a wise saying: "It is a sign of ideological weakness to attribute absurd ideas to one's ideological adversaries in order to attack them."

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TAIWAN

BRIEFS

ARMORED VEHICLE TRANSMISSION SYSTEM--When making a report to the Legislative Yuan on 15 November, Director Fang Hsien-chi of the Industrial Technology Research Institute said the institute is now capable of manufacturing the entire transmission system of an armored vehicle. He said the transmission system's box of aluminum alloy and the gear can be manufactured in an integrated operation involving the institute's supplies workshop and machinery workshop. The operation includes forging, casting and heat treatment processes. [OW271237 Taipei CHING CHI JIH PAO in Chinese 16 Nov 82 p 2]

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